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THE  
PROGRESS OF DEMOCRACY;

ILLUSTRATED IN THE HISTORY OF  
GAUL AND FRANCE.

BY  
ALEXANDRE DUMAS.

TRANSLATED BY AN AMERICAN.

Sans haine, sans crainte.

NEW YORK:  
J. & H. G. LANGLEY, 57 CHATHAM STREET.  
1841.

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## TRANSLATOR'S PREFACE.

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THE title of this book in the original is, simply, GAULE ET FRANCE, without one additional or explanatory word: but on presenting it to the public in English, the translator has ventured to adopt a different title, which though not that of the author, is, nevertheless, descriptive of his work and of the purpose with which he wrote it.

Its chief value to the general reader consists in the vast amount of historical facts which it embodies in a compass so small and in a style so attractive. Indeed, M. Dumas seems to be invested with a faculty, peculiarly his own, of abridging History nearly to the limits of Chronology, without sacrificing the interest that belongs to illustrated narrative.

The political theory of the work is original, striking and beautifully developed: how far it is sound as to the past and prescient as to the future, the reader and Time must, severally, determine.

The task of translation has been rather arduous, owing to the difficulty of rendering political technical terms; and owing, also, to the incessant consultation and collation of authorities,

necessary to make the names of persons and places intelligible to the English reader : and although, at last, tolerable correctness has been attained ; yet in this respect, as well as in many others, the “ Progress of Democracy ” is doubtless obnoxious to criticism.

The various notes introduced by the translator have been mingled indiscriminately with those of the author, but the reader will readily distinguish them from each other by their relation to the text.

NEW YORK, *May* 11th, 1841.

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# THE PROGRESS OF DEMOCRACY.



## INTRODUCTION.

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THE limits prescribed to the following work allow but a brief space for introductory remark; we must, therefore, content ourselves with a very summary view of the earlier ages of the world.

The Hebrew records—the archives of a nascent world—apprize us that the first family, like the fiery triangle which symbolizes God, divided into three branches; and, under the conduct of its leaders, deposited in the three parts of the then known earth the germ of future nations.

Previous to this separation, however; that there might be a distinct nation—a primordial seed—a primitive people—Canaan, whom the malediction of Noah drove from his presence, descended, with his eleven children, the mountains of Armenia, whereon the ark had rested; traversed the Jordan in a direction opposite to that afterward taken by Moses; and established himself on the soil since called Palestine, but to which the proscribed fugitives gave the name of their chief. Each brother soon

became the head of a family; each family, a tribe; and the several tribes, a people: the race of one man extended East and West from the Jordan to the Mediterranean, and North and South from Mount Libanus to the torrent of Bezor, or the River of Egypt.

Here, separated from the rest of mankind by mountains, rivers, and the sea—separated before the audacious enterprise of Babel led to the confusion of tongues—this nation preserved, what two centuries later Abraham was to make his own; the primitive idiom of the children of God, and the first soil possessed by the father of men.

When the day of the dispersion of the nations had arrived; when the entire world was given to the descendants of three men, the sons of Ham turned toward the South, crossed the Nile, and, under the guidance of Mizraim, founded the Kingdom of Egypt between the Great Desert and the Arabian Gulf; where, five centuries afterward, Osymandias was to build Thebes; and Uchoreus, Memphis. Their children, darkened by the sun of Africa, spread themselves from the Straits of Babelmandel to Mauritania, where the Atlas takes its rise; and from the Isthmus of Suez to the Cape of Tempests, where rush together the stormy billows of the Atlantic and Indian Oceans.

The sons of Shem journeyed eastward; divided themselves into three colonies under three different

chiefs, and, like the branches of a river, took divergent courses from their very source.

Arphaxad, the eldest, founded on the left of the Persian Gulf the kingdom of Chaldea—a privileged race, who were one day to take the title of the People of God and to give birth to Terah, of whom Abraham was born.

Elam, the second son, crossed the Euphrates and the Tigris, passed over a chain of unknown mountains, and planted at their base the kingdom of the Elamites, the remembrance of which still survives in the names of a great city and a great man,—Persepolis and Cyrus.

Asshur, the third son, paused in his journey between Mesopotamia and Syria; built Nineveh; and laid the foundation of the kingdom of Assyria, where Nimrod, the hunter, headed that list of thirty-four kings which was closed by Sardanapalus.

Thus, the posterity of the three sons of Shem dispersed themselves over that garden of the world, called Asia. They traversed forests abounding with sandal-wood and myrrh; passed rivers that flowed over beds of coral and pearl; and, in mines of rubies, topaz, and diamonds, laid the foundations of those wonderful cities, Bagdad, Ispahan, and Cashmere.

The descendants of Japhet chose a more gloomy abode. Travelling through the nebulous atmosphere of the West—after pausing in Greece to build Sicyon and Argos—they spread themselves over

Europe from Nova Zembla to the Straits of Gibraltar, and from the Euxine to the Norwegian shore : thus appropriating that portion of the earth which the Hebrews, poetic in their ignorance, styled “ the isles of the nations.”

When, in process of time, the whole (eastern) world became inhabited, God willed that the people should be instructed by science and enlightened by religion; and, that none should escape the benefit of this double blessing, He decreed that all the nations of the earth should be brought, by conquest, within the arms of the Roman Colossus.

And, to prepare for this great era of civilization and christianity, at a period no less than fifteen centuries previous to its advent, we see the following concurrent movements coinciding with the eternal purposes of JENOVAH. From Egypt there set forth, simultaneously,—a colony of wise men under the guidance of Cecrops, who reared that cradle of the arts and sciences, Athens :—an army of soldiers commanded by Pelagus, whose sons founded Rome, the symbol of universal conquest :—and a band of slaves led by Moses, from whose descendants was born CHRIST, the type of universal equality.

Thence, hastening forward the mysterious work appeared—

In Greece, for instruction,

Homer and Euripides, the poets; Lycurgus and Solon, the legislators; Plato and Socrates, the phi-

losophers; and the whole world studied their poems, adopted their laws, and assented to their dogmas!

In Rome, for conquest,

Cæsar, general and dictator; whose army swept across the world like a mighty river, receiving in its bosom the tributary streams of fourteen nations — making one current of all these waters; one people of all these inhabitants; one language of all these idioms: and, though all subsequently escaped from his grasp, it was but to form, within the firmer grasp of Octavius Augustus, one empire of all these empires.

At length, the set time having come, in a corner of Judea, and toward the East, where the day arises, arose CHRIST, the sun of civilization; and, surmounting the Roman horizon, separated with his hallowed rays the ancient from the modern age. His light shone for three centuries ere it illuminated Constantine.

But this empire, too vast to be held in subjection by one man, dropped from the dying hands of Theodosius the Great; and, breaking in two parts, rolled on either side of his coffin — forming, under Arcadius and Honorius, the two christian Empires of the East and the West.

Those streams of nations, however, which threw themselves into the great Roman flood, brought with them more slime than pure water. The empire gained, indeed, their science and civilization, but it was forced to take, in connexion with these, their

concomitant and inseparable vices. Corruption entered the court; debauchery, the cities; and supineness, the camps. Men drooped under the weight of mantles, so light that the breeze would lift them from their shoulders. Women passed their days at the baths; and left them, veiled, for houses of licentiousness. Soldiers, unarmed, reposed on couches beneath painted tents; and drank from cups heavier than their swords. All things had become venal; the integrity of citizens, the honor of wives, the service of warriors. A nation is near its fall when its *lares* are statues of gold.

The young and pure morality of the Gospel was not in harmony with this worn out and corrupted world. The primitive race, fallen into impiety, was destroyed by water: the second, steeped in corruption, was now to be purified by fire and the sword.

Accordingly, from the heart of countries unknown to this degenerate people; from the North, the East and the South, with great tumult of arms, arose innumerable hordes of barbarians. They rushed over the land in irregular masses; some on foot; some on horses; some on camels; and some on sleds drawn by the rein-deer.\* They crossed rivers by floating on their bucklers;† they traversed the sea in frail barks.

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\* Fuit alius quatuor cervis junctus, qui fuisse dicitur regis Gothorum. — VOSPICUS *in vitâ Aureliani*.

† Enatantes super parmâ positi amnem, in ulteriorem egressi sunt ripam. — GREG. TUR.



They went onward, driving the inhabitants before them with their swords, as the shepherd drives the flock with his crook. They overturned nation after nation, as if the voice of God had said, I will mingle the people of the earth as the whirlwind mingles the dust, until from their contact the sparks of the christian faith shall be kindled over the face of the earth ; and ancient times and memorials shall be forgotten, and all things shall become new.

There was, however, order in destruction ; for, from this chaos, a new world was to emerge. Each actor in the drama had his part assigned him ; God having apportioned to each his task, as the husbandman designates to his laborers the fields they are to harrow.

First, Alaric, at the head of the Goths, overran Italy, impelled by the breath of JEHOVAH, as a vessel is driven by the tempest. He goes not in his own strength merely ; but seems urged and sustained by a mighty, yet invisible power. A monk met him in the midst of his career, and conjured him to turn back.

“It is not in my power,” replied the barbarian : “an irresistible impulse forces me onward to the overthrow of Rome.”

Three times he surrounded the eternal city with his sea of soldiers ; and three times, like the ebbing tide, he retired from it. An embassy of citizens was at length despatched to his camp, recom-

mending him to abandon his enterprise, and assuring him that he would else encounter an army thrice as numerous as his own.

“So much the better,” replied this reaper of men; “the thicker the grass, the more easily is it mown.” \*

At length, however, he acceded to their request, on condition of receiving, as a recompense for his clemency, all the gold, silver, precious stones, and barbarian slaves that the city contained.

“And what, then, will remain to the inhabitants?” demanded the ambassadors.

“Life,” replied Alaric.

The Romans, of necessity, submitted to the severe terms of the conqueror, and delivered to him five thousand pounds’ weight of gold; thirty thousand pounds of silver; four thousand tunics of silk; three thousand scarlet skins; and three thousand pounds of pepper. † The vanquished inhabitants, for their ransom, had melted the golden statue of Courage, which they called the Martial Virtue. ‡

\* *Ipsius, inquit, fœnum rariore facilius resecatur.* — ZOZIMIUS.

† *Quinquies mille libras auri, et præter has, trecies mille libras argenti, quater mille tunicas sericas, et ter mille pelles coccineas, et piperis pondus quod ter mille libras æquaret.* — *Ibid.*

‡ *Quorum erat in numero Fortitudinis quoque simulacrum, quam Romani Virtutem vocant, quo sane corrupto quidquid fortitudinis atque virtutis apud Romanos superabat extinctum fuit.* — *Ibid.*

Genseric, at the head of the Vandals, passed into Africa, and marched toward Carthage, where the wrecks of Rome had taken refuge: toward Carthage, the harlot; where men, crowned with flowers and dressed like women, accosted the passers-by and proffered their monstrous favors.\*

He arrived before the city; and while his troops were mounting the ramparts, the people were descending to the circus. Without, was the tumult of arms; and within, the resounding echoes of the games: at the foot of the walls were the shrieks and curses of those who slipped in gore and fell in the mêlée; on the steps of the amphitheatre, were the songs of musicians and the sound of accompanying flutes.

After taking full possession of the city, Genseric presented himself at the circus, and commanded its guards to open the gates.

“To whom?” said they.

“To the King of the earth and the sea,” replied the conqueror.

Not content with the subjugation of Carthage, Genseric now prepared for further victories. He did not know what people dwelt on the earth, but he panted to destroy them. He embarked his army on

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\* *Indicia sibi quædam monstruosæ impuritatis inectebant, et fœminæ tegminum illigamentis capita velarunt, atque publice in civitate.* — SALVIEN.

the sea, and when the pilot demanded what course he should steer, his answer was,

“Where God pleases to send me.”\*

“Against what nation do you make war?”

“Against that which God wills to punish.”†

The last of this trio of conquerors, was Attila, whose destination was Gaul. Wherever he encamped, his army covered the space of three cities. A captive king mounted guard at the tent of each of his generals; and, at his own tent, one of his own generals stood sentinel. He disdained the gold and silver vessels of Greece, and feasted on raw flesh served in dishes of wood. As he paused with his army on the banks of the Danube, arrested for the moment by its deep and turbulent current, a she-dog led the way to a ford across the Palus Mæotides, and disappeared.‡ Having surmounted this obstacle, he swept like a torrent over the Eastern Empire, making Leo the Second and Zeno Isauricus his tributaries. He strode with disdain through Rome, already ruined by Alaric, and at length planted his foot on that portion of the earth which is now called France. Here, his devastating progress left but

\* Interrogatus a Nauclero, quo tendere populabundus vellet, respondisse: Quo Deus impulerit. — ZOZIMIUS.

† In eos quibus iratus est Deus. — PROCOPE.

‡ Mox quoque ut Scythica terra ignotis apparuit, cerva disparuit. — JORNANDES.

two cities standing, Troyes and Paris. By day, the earth was crimsoned with blood ; and at night, the blazing homes of the slaughtered inhabitants illuminated and reddened the firmament. Children were suspended by the leg to trees, and abandoned, alive, to birds of prey.\* Maidens were crushed under chariot-wheels. Old men were fastened to the necks of goaded horses that rushed with them to destruction. Five hundred blazing cities designated the march of the King of the Huns across the world, and a desolate wilderness occupied the intervals between them.

“The grass itself will not grow,” said the exterminator, “after the steed of Attila has trampled it!”

Everything concerning these envoys of celestial vengeance is extraordinary.

Alaric, when about to embark for Sicily, died at Cosentia. His soldiers, aided by their army of prisoners, turned the course of the Busento, and dug a deep trench for his corse in the midst of the channel. They then heaped over the body gold and jewels and precious stuffs, turned back the current of the river to its original bed, and massacred the slaves

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\* *Irruentes super parentes nostros, omnem substantiam abstulerunt, pueros per nervum femoris ad arbores appendentes, puellas amplius ducentas crudeli nece interfecerunt.*—GREG. TUR.

who had aided in the task, that the secret of the sepulture might remain untold.\*

Attila expired in the arms of his bride, Ildico; and the Huns made incisions beneath their eyes with the points of their swords, that with the blood of men, and not the tears of women, they might bewail the loss of their conquering chieftain.† The flower of his soldiers kept watch during the day over his body, chanting warlike songs. At night, they enclosed the corse in three coffins — one of gold, another of silver, and the last of iron — and buried it privately on a bed of arms, flags and precious stones: and, as in the case of Alaric, to prevent the secret of this sepulchral wealth from transpiring, the grave-diggers were pushed into the tomb and interred alive with the dead. ‡

Thus passed away these men who, instructed in their mission by a savage instinct, forestalled the judgment of the world; entitling themselves the hammer of the universe, or the scourge of God. §

\* *Hujus ergo, in medio alveo, collecto captivorum agmine, sepulturæ locum effodiunt: in cujus fodiæ gremio Alaricum multis opibus obruunt: rursusque aquas in suum alveum reducentes, ne a quoquam quandoque locus cognosceretur, fossore omnes interemerunt.* — JORNANDES.

† *Ut præliator eximius, non fœmineis lamentationibus et lacrymis, sed sanguine lugeretur virili.* — *Ibid.*

‡ *Et, ut tot et tantis divitiis humana curiositas arceretur, operi deputatos detestabili mercede trucidârunt, emersitque momentanea mors sepelientibus cum sepulto.* — *Ibid.*

§ “*En ego sum malleus orbis.*”

When the wind had dispersed the dust of these countless armies; when the smoke of these blazing cities had ascended to the sky; when the vapors, arising from these murderous battle-fields, had returned to the earth in fertilizing dews; when, in short, the eye could penetrate to this immense chaos through the veil of dust, smoke and vapor that enveloped it, a young and renewed people were seen pressing around a few old men who held the Gospel in one hand and the Cross in the other.

These old men were the fathers of the church.

These young people were our forefathers, as the Hebrews had been our ancestors; living springs which gushed pure from the earth at the very spot where the corrupted waters were ingulphed.

These were the Franks, the Burh-Gunds, and the Visigoths who divided Gaul: the Ostro-Goths, the Langobardi, and the Gepidæ who spread themselves over Italy: the All-Inns, the Van-Dalls, and the Suevi who took possession of Spain; the Picts, the Scots and the Anglo-Saxons who disputed among themselves for Great-Britain. And in the midst of these new and barbarous races stood some few old Roman colonies, scattered here and there — a kind of columns, long ago planted by civilization, and now astonished to find themselves standing in the midst of barbarism, while they bore upon their sides the half-effaced names of the first possessors of the world.





PART FIRST.

G A U L .

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THE CONQUERING RACE.

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THE FRANCO-ROMAN MONARCHY.



## GAUL.

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### THE CONQUERING RACE.

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The limits of the Roman Empire were thus fixed under Augustus :

On the East, the Euphrates ;

On the South, the cataracts of the Nile, the deserts of Africa and Mount Atlas ;

On the North, the Danube and the Rhine ;

On the West, the Ocean.\*

The country, the shores of which were bathed by this ocean, was Gaul. Cæsar achieved its conquest fifty-one years before CHRIST, and converted it into a Roman province.

He found it divided into three sections, inhabited by three nations differing in language, institutions and laws. These were the Belgæ, the Galli or

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\* *Termini igitur finesque imperii Romani sub Augusto erant : ab Oriente, Euphrates ; a Meridie, Nili cataractæ et deserta Africae et Mons Atlas ; ab Occidente, Oceanus ; a Septentrione, Danubius et Rhenus.*

Celtæ, and the Aquitani.\* The Celtæ, placed between the other two nations, were separated from the Belgæ by the Marne and the Seine; and from the Aquitani, by the Garonne.

Rome divided her new conquest into seventeen provinces;† built fortresses in each and garrisoned them; and, like a careful mistress, who fears lest her handsomest slave may be stolen from her, she caused a flotilla to cruize constantly along the shores of Britain.‡

Constantine, who possessed the empire in peace,

\* Gallia omnis est divisa in partes tres, quarum unam incolunt Belgæ, aliam Aquitani, tertiam qui ipsorum linguâ Celtæ, nostrâ Galli, appellantur. Hi omnes linguâ, institutis, legibus, inter se differunt. Gallos ab Aquitanis Garumna flumen, a Belgis Matrona et Sequana dividit. — *De Bello Gallico*.

† They were divided as follows:

NARBONENSIS.	{	I. Narbonensis prima.	LUGDUNENSIS.	{	IX. Lugdunensis prima.
		II. Viennensis.			X. Lugdunensis secunda.
		III. Narbonensis secunda.			XI. Lugdunensis tertia.
		IV. Alpes Maritimæ.			XII. Lugdunensis quarta.
		V. Alpes Græcæ et Penninæ.			XIII. Maxima Sequanorum.
AQUITANIA.	{	VI. Novem populana.			XIV. Belgica prima.
		VII. Aquitania prima.			XV. Belgica secunda.
		VIII. Aquitania secunda.			XVI. Germania prima.
					XVII. Germania secunda.

‡ Proximūque Galliæ littus rostratæ naves præsidebant. —  
TACITUS — *Annales*.

created for Gaul a prætorian prefect. All subordinate officers were responsible to this prefect; but he was accountable to the Emperor alone. At this time, the Christian religion prevailed in Gaul: the conversion of the country is dated from the reign of Decius.\*

About the year A. D. 354, Julian (afterward Emperor of Rome) was appointed to the prefecture of Gaul, which office he held for five years. He repelled two invasions of the Franks; and after one of his campaigns against them, passed a rigorous winter at the *Thermæ*, which still bear his name in the *little borough* of Paris—styled by him his dear *Lutetia*.†

In the year 451 Ætius became prefect. His task, however, as commander of the provinces, was not to repel an invasion of Franks, but to oppose an inundation of barbarians; not to subdue an obscure leader of a tribe, but to conquer Attila!

Ætius, aware of the formidable nature of the danger that threatened him, omitted nothing in his power necessary to an adequate resistance. In addition to his own legions, collected and disciplined in Gaul, he brought to his standard the West-Goths, the *Burh-Gunds*, the Celts, the Saxons, the *All-Inns*, the *Allemanni*, and, lastly, a tribe of the very Franks who had formerly been vanquished by Julian. Ætius

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\* Grégoire de Tours.

† Julian Misopogon.

had met their chief, Mere-Wig,\* at Rome, and learned to appreciate his prowess.

The two armies encountered each other on the plains of Champagne, not far from Châlons (*Cabillonum*.) One half the inhabitants of the earth were now face to face. Here, the elements of a world ready to perish; there, the elements of a world ready to be born. The battle that ensued was horribly sanguinary. "If we may believe the old men," says Jornandes, a writer almost cotemporary, "a little rivulet that crossed this memorable plain was suddenly so swollen, not with rain but blood, that it became a rapid torrent: and the wounded soldiers, parched with thirst, who dragged themselves to its brink, swallowed with avidity the revolting mixture, which their own veins had helped to pollute."†

Attila was vanquished. But his first defeat was Rome's last victory.

\* Mere-Wig, in the Frank language, signifies *eminent warrior*. We are indebted to COOPER for having made known to us the names of the celebrated Indian warriors of America: and, but for AUG. THIERRY, we should be ignorant of the names of the former conquerors of France.

† Nam, si senioribus credere fas est, rivulus memorati campi humili ripâ prolabens, peremptorum vulneribus sanguine multo provectus, non auctus imbris, ut solebat, sed liquore concitatus insolito, torrens factus est cruoris augmento: et quos illic coëgit in aridam sitim vulnus inflictum, fluenta mixta clade traxerunt: ita constricti sorte miserabili sordebant, potantes sanguinem quem fudere sauciati.—JORNANDES.

Ætius, having thus saved Gaul, hastened to Rome to receive the reward of his valor ; but Valentinian, the Emperor, being jealous of his success, stabbed him with his own hand.

Mere-Wig succeeded Ætius in the government of Gaul. He had become enamored of the beautiful country, and made himself master of that portion of it situated between the Seine and the Rhine, making Paris his frontier town, and Tournay his capital.

His usurpation was not resisted by expiring Rome. This once mighty empire had become powerless to protect her original domains against barbarian invasion, and of course could afford no aid to her subjugated provinces. At the same time that Mere-Wig established himself in a corner of that Gaul which his descendants were destined to conquer throughout, the Vandals took Carthage and the West-Goths \* (Visigoths) Spain. The Roman Colossus which, in the greatness of its power, seemed to cover the world, had, in its death struggles, contracted itself into diminutive proportions ; as the bodies of giants, shrivelled by suffering, appear, in dying, never to have attained the ordinary height of man.

The reign of Mere-Wig is the first established sovereignty in Belgic Gaul of which our learned

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\* West-Goths ; so called from the position they occupied in their ancient country, north of the Danube, before Attila drove them into the Roman provinces. — AUG. THIERRY.

modern historians\* find any sure trace, or which is recorded with entire certainty by Sigebert, Hariulphus, Roriconis and Fredégaire.

Mere-Wig was a notable chief. He gave his name not only to a race, but to a nation; his followers having been called the Merovingian-Franks.† Those who remained on the borders of the Rhine preserved the name of Ripe-Ware-Franks.‡

Mere-Wig died about the year 455. He was succeeded by Hilde-rik§, (Childeric I.) a powerful and ardent man, as his name signifies. His soldiers placed him on a buckler supported upon their shoulders, and carried him, standing, with his battle axe in his hand, around the entire army: and after this ceremony, they proclaimed him their chief.

\* Sismonde de Sismondi: Aug. Thierry: Châteaubriand. If I gave their names every time I quote from them, I should be obliged to name them on every page.

† *Merovechus a quo cognominati sunt Merovingi. (Sigeberti chronica.)* It is evident that from this word, latinized by Sigebert, we have made *Merovingians*. Two other authors corroborate this: *Meroveus, ob cujus facta et triumphos, intermisso Sicambrorum vocabulo, Merovingi dicti sunt. (Hariulphi chronica.)* *Meroveus, a quo Franci Merovinci appellati sunt; quod quasi communis pater ab omnibus coleretur.*

RORICONIS, *gesta Francorum.*

‡ Men of the shore. Latin authors translated this compound word by *Ripuarii*.

§ Handsome, and strong in combat.



Hilde-rik's love for the wife, or slave, of one of his generals soon led to a revolt of the troops, which ended in his being deposed, and Egidius,\* general of the Roman armies, was elected to succeed him : at the end of eight years, however, Hilde-rik was recalled.

Bassina, wife of the King of Thuringia, whom Hilde-rik, during his exile, had seduced, soon followed him.

"I have come," she said, "to live with you. If I knew a greater chief, I would seek him at the ends of the earth." Hilde-rik was flattered, and espoused her. On the night of their marriage she said to him, "Arise, and tell your servant what you see."

He approached the window, and assured her that he saw the court-yard filled with beasts resembling lions, leopards and unicorns.

"Look again," continued Bassina, "and tell your servant what you see."

He replied that he now saw an assemblage of beasts resembling bears and wolves.

She desired him to look a third time, and he described the beasts as of a still inferior race. She then explained to him the history of his posterity, who, like the succession of animals he had seen, were constantly to degenerate. Their son, who was

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\* The Abbé Vély calls him the Count Giles.

named Hlodo-wig\* (Clovis I.) was, in courage and strength, a lion among the Frank chiefs.

In fact, the whole history of Hilde-rik's posterity is typified in this apologue. Dagoberth I.,† (*Dagobert*) was to Hlodo-wig what the wolf and bear are to the lion; and his eight successors, who were styled *fainéans*, were a sort of inferior animals, sitting on the throne, yet in utter subservience to the Major or Mayor of the palace.

Hilde-rik died about the year 481. He was buried in the city of Tournay—the most ancient capital of the Merovingian Franks—in a tomb which was accidentally discovered in 1653. His remains are those of a man of large stature. The grave also contained the skeleton of a horse, the symbol of courage: the head of an ox, symbol of strength: a crystal globe, symbol of power: and some enamelled bees, symbol of a rising people. Near the body of the deceased monarch were tablets and a style, that he might issue his commands to the slaves who had been strangled on his tomb: and a silver signet was there to seal them. The device

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\* Famous warrior. The early Latin authors have translated his name *Clodovecus*, endeavoring to preserve the Germanic aspiration. Gradually this aspiration was modified, the authors of the eighth and ninth centuries writing it *Cludovecus*, and, finally, *Ludovicus*, root of the modern name, *Louis*.

† Brilliant as day.

of the signet represented a remarkably handsome man, with shaven chin, and long, curling hair, parted in the middle of the forehead and flowing behind. And, that no doubt may remain as to the identity of the tenant of the sepulchre, these two Latin words constituted the inscription on the seal, Childericus Rex.\*

Hlodo-wig, who, according to Gregory of Tours, was the son of Hilde-rik, succeeded him at the age of twenty. The young nation and its chief soon became desirous of extending their dominions ; for the fertility of their soil, the limpidness of their water and the clearness of their sky, daily attracted hordes of immigrants from the borders of the Rhine ; and the people felt circumscribed in their limits, as a child grows and stifles in a bodice originally too large for it. Hlodo-wig, therefore, passed through Paris, his frontier-town, and advanced forty-eight leagues to the North, where, near Soissons, he encountered Syagrius, the Roman governor of Gaul.†

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\* See the learned dissertation of AUG. THIERRY, who shows that the word *rex* means nothing but chief. (Let. V., page 45.)

† Hlodo-wig had a two-fold motive for prosecuting this war. Syagrius, as son of Egidius, (Gregory of Tours) might urge pretensions to the title of chief of the Franks, formerly borne by his father; and which pretensions, he, being a military chief, might support by arms. Hlodo-wig, therefore, attacked him as the pretender to his own title and as the representative of the Roman power in Gaul. This explains the animosity with which he pursued his vanquished foe, and the punishment he inflicted when he obtained possession of his person.

Syagrius was utterly routed and escaped almost alone from the field. He fled for refuge to the West-Goths, who had now extended their dominion over Aquitania. Hlodo-wig pursued the fugitive, and threatened his protector, Alaric II., with war, unless he delivered him up without delay. Alaric yielded to the demand, Syagrius was beheaded, and Rheims and Soissons opened their gates to the conqueror.

Hlodo-wig was now desirous to give permanence to his power by a matrimonial alliance with some one of the neighboring chiefs. His position enabled him to select whomsoever he chanced to prefer among the fair daughters of the land ; and his choice fell upon a maiden whose name proclaimed her fairest of the fair — Hlodo-hilde\* (*Clotilda*), whose uncle, Gundebald, chief of the Burh-Gunds,† dwelt near the city of Geneva. A Roman, slave to the Frank chief, was the messenger who bore to Hlodo-hilde the intelligence of his master's decision, and who also presented to her the golden penny and the copper denier as a pledge that Hlodo-wig bought her for his bride.‡

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\* Brilliant and noble. Latin authors call her *Chlotilda*, and the French *Clotilde*.

† Confederated warriors. In Latin, *Burgundii*; in French, Bourguignons. (In English, *Burgundians*.)

‡ This custom is still preserved: for at the present day the bridegroom sometimes presents to his bride a piece of money blessed by the priest.

Hlodo-Hilde was a Christian.

Meanwhile, the Allemanni, jealous of the new conquests and increasing power of the Franks, made war upon them. Hlodo-wig advanced promptly to the proffered combat, and the two armies met at Tolbiac. The battle was contested with great obstinacy and valor; but was, at length, won by Hlodo-wig; who, in the heat of the strife, and when his defeat seemed inevitable, exchanged the sword for the cross. He called on the God of Hlodo-hilde, and embraced the Christian faith.\* On Christmas-day, in the year 496, St. Remy, archbishop of Rheims, sprinkled the holy water on the chief's flowing hair; and received for recompense as much land as he could *walk around* during the time that Hlodo-wig should sleep after dinner: the true gift of a conqueror, as he could cut short his nap and disappoint the object of his liberality, whenever he chose.

Hlodo-wig soon undertook new conquests. He marched in the direction of Orleans (which the Romans called Genabum,) crossed the Loire and

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\* This sentence and the preceding one are *paraphrased* from the context, being taken, in part, from another source: the relation, as it now stands, is sufficiently obscure; yet not quite so vague as the language of M. Dumas, which is as follows; "La victoire est long-temps incertaine, et le chef des Franks Mere-wigs ne l'obtient qu'en échangeant son épée contre une croix. Hlodo-wig est vainqueur; Hlodo-wig est chrétien."

appeared on its opposite bank, an object of terror which his own and his country's renown were well calculated to inspire.\*

The inhabitants of Bretagne, hitherto enslaved by the Romans, now changed masters. Hlodowig overran their country, pillaged their houses, devastated their fields, despoiled their temples, and returned to Paris, leaving only what he could not carry away—the soil.†

He found, at Paris, the envoys of Anastasius, Emperor of the East, commissioned to bestow on him the titles of Patrician and Augustus, and present him with the appropriate insignia. Flushed with this unexpected honor, he determined to exhibit himself in his new character to his subjects: and accordingly, invested with the purple and preceded by the fasces, he set forth from Paris, traversed Gaul that he vanquished, if not subdued, and furrowed the land with his chariot-wheels from the Rhine to the Pyrenees—from the Ocean to the Alps.

It was probably about this time that the Frank sovereigns changed their designation of royalty from *chief* to *king*: for humble and fawning Rome now sent after them the purple mantle and the golden crown which they had forgotten to take when they

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\* Terror Francorum resonabat. — GREG. DE TOURS.

† Præter terram solam, quam Barbari secum ferre non poterant.—*Script. riv. Francii.*

wrested the sword from her grasp. This was Hlodowig's second baptism, and victory called him Cæsar.

It must not be supposed, however, that this progress of the warrior through the scene of his conquests was the peaceful and triumphant journey of a beloved sovereign through his loyal domains. The people who opened their gates to him were not his people: they were our fathers! they were his vanquished foes, not his loving subjects. Wherever he stood in the midst of his soldiers, there, and there only, he stood in his power. For behind his chariot and his army the people closed again, like the waves which have been dashed aside by a ship on her course; and the commands that he uttered as he passed along were lost amid the threats and imprecations that flowed from every mouth, as soon as the fear inspired by his presence was dispelled by his departure.

Hence the conquests, achieved by the energy and genius of Hlodowig, were lost to his successors, when the sword, with which he had hewn his way through the Celts, the Aquitani and the Bretons, fell into the feeble hands of Hilde-berth\* (*Childebert I.*) and his posterity. The native inhabitants pressed closely around their conquerors, and the Franks felt themselves overpowered by their conquests like the axe in the heart of an oak which it has penetrated,

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\* Brilliant warrior.

but not divided. The people remained unchanged in all things, except being compelled to give place to a foreign tribe which had forced itself into their borders, and taken possession of a large portion of their territory.

Hlodo-wig died in 511, and was succeeded by Hilde-berth; and, as we believe that, from this time, the descendants of Hlodo-wig took definitively the title of King, we shall hereafter give them the appellation of King of the Franks. Ode, or Eudes,\* whom we find on the throne in 588, changed the title to King of France.

The change of title, however, inferred no change of power or immunity. The limits of their authority were not altered or extended. At this period the army was composed of freemen, and the King was the head of the freemen — and nothing more. It would, therefore, be a great misapprehension to suppose that the attributes of royalty, in this age of the world, corresponded at all to those assumed and enjoyed by Louis XIV. and Napoleon. In the sixth century, a king of the Franks was content to receive a prescribed portion of the spoils of victory.†

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\* Rich, or happy.

† During this time, the army of Hlodo-wig pillaged a number of churches, etc. His soldiers had taken from one of them a vase of unusual beauty and value. The bishop sent a messenger to Hlodo-wig, demanding its restoration. "Follow me to Soissons," said the King; "it is there that we divide our



Whenever his soldiers disapproved of an expedition to which he had ordered them, they were at liberty to abandon it.\* And if the king refused to accompany them on a campaign which they considered advantageous, they constrained him to go with them by menaces, or, if necessary, by violence.†

Hlodo-wig left four sons, who divided the territory occupied by the Merovingian Franks, and also that acquired by their father, into four parts. They then cast lots for these parts; and Paris, Orleans, Soissons and Metz—the four most important towns in the entire dominion—became each the centre of a quarter of the divided kingdom. Hilde-berth obtained

booty: and when the vase is given to me, I will do what the Pontiff requires." When arrived at Soissons, the king besought his warriors to give him this vase in addition to his allotted portion. Upon this, a soldier raised his battle-axe, and, smiting the vase, cried out, "You shall have no more of it than justly falls to your lot." *Nihil hinc accipies, nisi tibi quæ sors vera largitur.* — GREG. DE TOURS.

\* After this, Hlodo-her and Hilde-berth conceived the project of marching against the Burh-Gunds. Theode-rik refused to accompany them: but the Franks assured him that if he would not join his brothers, they (the Franks) would quit him and follow them in his stead. *Si in Burgundiam ire despexeris, te relinquimus.* — *Ibid.*

† *Irruentes super eum, et scindentes tentorium ejus, ipsumque vi detrahentes, interficere voluerunt, si cum illis ire differet.* — *Ibid.*

Paris : Hlodo-mer, \* (*Clodomir*,) Orleans : Hlot-her † (*Clotaire*,) Soissons : and Theode-rik, ‡ (*Thierry*,) Metz.

This partition gave rise to a new geographical division. The territory between the Rhine, the Meuse and the Moselle was called *Oster-Rike*, the Eastern Monarchy, which the moderns have corrupted into *Austrasia* : that portion lying between the Meuse, the Loire and the Ocean was called *Nioster-Rike*, § the kingdom of the West, or *Neustria*. All the country not comprised in these divisions, not having been yet subjugated by the Merovingian Franks, retained its ancient name of Gaul.

Thus, invasion followed its ordinary course : first, conquest ; then, division ; and, lastly, the naming of the divided territories.

The first of the four brothers who died was Hlodo-mer. He was killed, in 523, at the battle of Vesperonce ;||

\* Celebrated chief.

† Brave among the people.

‡ Celebrated and excellent.

§ Literally, *non est*.

|| And having joined each other near Vesperonce, situated in the territory of the city of Vienna, they gave battle to Gundemer (*peaceful and great*.) Gundemer retired, and Hlodo-mer pursued him. The latter having incautiously proceeded in advance of his troops, the *Burh-Gunds* imitated his accustomed signal and cried out "come this way ; we belong to you." He was deceived by the stratagem and fell in the midst of his enemies, who cut off his head and carried it on the point of a pike.  
— GREG. DE TOURS.

nevertheless, Theode-rik, his ally, obtained the victory over the Burh-Gunds, made himself master of their country, and united it to his own. Hlodo-mer left three sons under the tutelage of their grandmother, Hlodo-hilde :—

—“ Then Hilde-berth, King of Paris, seeing the great affection that his mother bore to the sons of Hlodo-mer, took umbrage at it; and fearing that, through her influence, she might be able to give them a share of the government, he sent, secretly, this message to his brother, the King Hlot-her : ‘ Our mother has with her the sons of our brother, and desires to give them the kingdom. Come without delay to Paris : and after we have consulted together, we will decide what to do with them : whether to cut off their hair, like that of the people ; \* or kill them, and divide between us our brother’s kingdom.’ Hlot-her came to Paris accordingly. Hilde-berth had already circulated a report that he and his brother would raise the orphans to their father’s throne : and the brothers now sent a messenger to Queen Hlodo-hilde, who dwelt in the same city, saying to her, ‘ Send us thy grand-children, that we may place them on the throne.’ She, overjoyed, and not suspecting

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\* The shaven head was the sign of forfeiture. The first Frank kings wore the crown of hair before they wore the crown of gold.

their intentions, after having made the children eat and drink, sent them to their uncles, saying, 'Go, children; I shall not think that I have lost my son, if I behold you succeeding to his kingdom.' The children, being gone, were immediately seized and separated from their servants and governors, and shut up apart; the followers on one side, and the children on the other. This done, Hilde-berth and Hlot-her sent Arcadius to the queen, bearing a pair of scissors and a drawn sword. When he came before her, he discovered to her the scissors and the sword, saying, 'Thy sons, our lords, oh, glorious queen! desire that thou wilt make known thy will concerning the children. Command whether their hair shall be cut, or they slain.' Dismayed at these words, and moved to rage at sight of the scissors and the sword, the queen suffered herself to be led away by her indignation, and, not knowing what she said, so much was her mind bewildered by her grief, she imprudently replied, 'If they do not reign as their father, I would rather see them dead than shorn.' Then Arcadius returned quickly to those who sent him, and said to them, 'You may go on: the queen approves of your beginning, and it is her will that you accomplish your design.' Hlot-her then immediately seized the eldest child by the arm, threw him on the ground, and thrusting his knife in his body, under the arm-pit, killed him cruelly. At his shrieks, his brother prostrated himself at the feet of Hilde-

berth, embraced his knees and supplicated him with tears: 'Save me, my very good father, so that I die not as my brother.' Then Hilde-berth moved to compassion, said to Hlot-her: 'O, I pray thee, my very dear brother, grant me the life of this child, and I will give thee whatever thou desirest.' But Hlot-her overwhelmed him with reproaches, and replied, 'Shake off that child from thee, or certes, thou diest in his place: for thou excitedst me to this business, and now thou wilt not carry it through to the end.' Then Hilde-berth, affrighted, shook off the child, and threw him toward Hlot-her, who plunged his knife in his side and killed him as he had done his brother. After this, they massacred the servants and governors; and when all were dead, Hlot-her mounted his horse, unconcerned at the murder of his nephews, and repaired with Hilde-berth to the suburbs. The queen, Hlodo-hilde, having placed the little bodies on a litter, conducted them with many sacred chants and mighty grief to the church of St. Peter, where they were buried together. One of them was ten, and the other, seven years old. The third son, named Hlodo-ald\* (*Clodoald*) was saved by the interposition of a body of valiant men, since called barons. Renouncing his terrestrial kingdom, he cut off his own hair, and became an ecclesiastic

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\* Celebrated and faithful. It was he who built the monastery of St. Cloud.

and, afterward, a priest. The two kings divided between themselves the kingdom of Hlodomer."

We have thought it best to change nothing in this narrative of *Gregory of Tours*: it appears to us as simple as a chapter of the Bible; and as dramatic as a scene from Shakspeare.

Ten years after this event, Theode-rik died, and was succeeded by Theode-bert,\* who united the kingdom of the Burh-Gunds to that of Metz, at the moment when Hlot-her and Hilde-berth were collecting their troops to despoil him of his heritage, as they had done the sons of Hlodomer.

Theode-bert was the first who took the title of King of Austrasia; and, by reason of his union with the Burh-Gunds, was able to bring a formidable force into the field. The two brothers saw, at once, the danger of their enterprise, and turned their arms against Spain, where they took Pampeluna, Biscay, Aragon and Catalonia, and laid siege to Saragossa. This latter city preserved herself from pillage by giving up to the two kings the tunic of the martyr, St. Vincent. The conquerors returned to France with this precious relic, and Hilde-berth built a church near Paris called St. Croix-de-Saint-Vincent, where he deposited the tunic with great pomp, and where it was guarded with great devotion.† This church

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\* Very brilliant among the people.

† Isid. hisp. hist. Goth.

is now called Saint-Germain-des-Près, the most ancient monument of the Merovingians in our modern Paris.

While these events were occurring in the West, Justinian was boldly waging war against the barbarians who had invaded Italy: and as the Frank Kings were becoming daily more powerful, they were now very desirable allies to the Emperor. He therefore sent ambassadors to Theodebert, with full authority to cede to the Frank his residuary rights in Provence, where Arles and Nismes still held out for the Empire.\* He also granted to him the right of presiding, like the Emperors, at the games of the circus, which were celebrated in these towns. He issued an edict, ordering that the gold coined by the new King of Austrasia, and bearing his image, should be current throughout the empire:—a peculiar prerogative, hitherto always denied even to the King of Persia. Theodebert, however, was not to be purchased by these tempting proposals. Instead of forming an alliance with Justinian, he leagued himself with Totilla; coined gold and silver, on which he was represented with all the insignia of imperial dignity,† and assumed the title of Augustus. He then made a league with the Ost-Goths and the Grecians, pene-

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\* Procop., lib. ter., de Bell. Goth.

† This money was called, *Dominus noster*.

trated by a series of victories as far as Pavia, where he collected an immense booty, and left Buccelin, his lieutenant, to guard his conquests which were assailed by Belisarius.\* He then returned to Austrasia, where the fall of a tree wounded him severely, and caused his death.†

Theode-bert, who reigned but thirteen years, well merited his surname — *Useful*, by reason of the services he rendered to his country. He, alone, of all the kings of the three dynasties, Merovingian, Carolingian and Capetian, received this name from the people. Karl (*Charles*), Philip II., Louis XIV., and Napoleon, contented themselves with the title of Augustus, — or, *Great*.

Theode-bald‡ (son of Theode-bert) succeeded to the throne of his father, and died after a reign of seven years. Hilde-bert, King of Paris, soon followed him to the tomb; and Hlot-her, King of Soissons, became sole master of Neustria and Austrasia: but he did not maintain possession of his dominions in peace.

Of all the disasters that befell him — whether from

\* GREGOIRE DE TOURS.

† Agath., lib. prim. Gregory of Tours, nevertheless, makes him die of a long illness. — “The king, Theode-bert, began to fall sick. The physicians employed all their skill; but it was of no avail, for God had resolved to call him to himself.”

‡ Bold among others.



foreign or domestic enemies — we will cite only the revolt of his son, Hram.\* This young man joined with the Count de Bretagne against his father. Hlot-her, in a single battle, defeated and dispersed the Bretons, slew the Count and made Hram prisoner. He then bound him, shut him up with his family in a hut, and destroyed the whole with fire.†

One year after this, Hlot-her died at Compeigne, at the age of fifty-one, on the anniversary of the battle with Hram, and at the precise hour that he caused his son to perish in the flames.‡

During the latter part of his reign, and while the Turks were gaining a footing in Asia, Belisarius and Narses, Roman generals, reconquered Italy, Sicily, and the provinces in the south of Spain.

Hlot-her left four sons; Hari-bert,§ (*Charibert*),

\* Strong in war.

† The two armies had no sooner come together than the Count de Bretagne turned to flee, and was slain. Hram perceiving this, fled toward the sea, where he had vessels in readiness to effect his escape: but while he was delayed in taking charge of his wife and son, he was overtaken by his father's soldiers, made prisoner and bound. When Hlot-her was informed of this, he commanded Hram to be burned with his wife and daughters. They were shut up in the hut of a poor man, where Hram was extended on a bench and strangled. Afterward, the hut was fired and he was consumed with his wife and daughters. — GREG. DE TOURS.

‡ GREGOIRE DE TOURS.

§ Brilliant in the army.

Gont-ram,\* Hilpe-rik,† (*Chilperic*,) and Sighe-bert,‡ (*Sigebert*.)

Immediately after the interment of his father, Hilpe-rik seized the royal treasury at Braine, and, by flattery and promises to the most influential Franks, induced them to acknowledge him as the lawful sovereign of the realm. He proceeded rapidly to Paris, and made himself master of that city. But his energies were not equal to his ambition: for his brothers, uniting together, easily drove him from his conquest, and divided the kingdom equally between them. Hari-bert obtained Paris; Gont-ram, Orleans; Hilpe-rik, Soissons; and Sighe-bert, Rheims.

The short notice we can bestow on these brothers will be confined, principally, to Sighe-bert and Hilpe-rik. They espoused two sisters, daughters of Athanagild, King of the West-Goths. The wife of Sighe-bert was Brune-hilde; and of Hilpe-rik, Galasuinha.

Two years afterward, Galasuinha was found dead in her bed; and Frede-gunde,§ the mistress of Hilpe-rik, was suspected of having murdered her. This suspicion was confirmed when she, shortly after, took the title and place of her unfortunate rival.

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\* Generous man.

† Strong in combat.

‡ Brilliant conqueror.

§ Peaceful woman.

A deadly hatred between the two queens now ensued: one, excited by a sister's murder; and the other by a consciousness of guilt, together with a determination to keep a station procured by crime. During the continuance of their mutual animosity, it is difficult to distinguish anything but a series of assassinations through the vapor of blood that enveloped the two kingdoms. The murderous blows fell so rapidly, it was not easy to say who struck and who were stricken.

At first, Frede-gunde caused Sighe-bert, Brune-hilde's husband, to be assassinated: and afterward, her own husband, and his two sons by a former marriage.

Gont-ram was next slain, leaving his dominions to Hilde-bert (*Childe-bert II.*) son of Sighe-bert.

Hilde-bert followed next in the death-march; and Brune-hilde avenged the murder of her husband and two children by that of Theode-bert, son of Hilde-bert.

The only survivor of the four sons\* of Hilpe-rik and Frede-gunde was Hlot-her (*Clotaire II.*) who was proclaimed King of Soissons at the age of four

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\* To use the expression that their mother employed in her grief; "the three others were killed by the tears of the poor, the groans of widows, and the sighs of orphans. *Ecce eos lacrymæ pauperum, lamenta viduarum, suspiria orphanorum interimerunt.*"

months. The young tiger gave early proof of his maternal lineage by the assassination of Hildebert's descendants; whose death left him sole master of the entire monarchy. In 613 he mounted the throne — the velvet drapery of which was the pall of eight royal corses. The first exercise of his kingly prerogative was the obtaining possession of Brune-hilde, the old enemy of his mother and her house. He paraded her around his camp on the back of a camel; and then, after a torture of three days' continuance, he tied her to the tail of a wild horse that by its flight dashed in pieces, in presence of the whole army, this widow of two Kings and mother of seven princes.

In 1632, the tomb of Brune-hilde, in the church of St. Martin, at Autun, was opened. The ashes of the queen (her body having been finally burned) were found there, together with some pieces of charcoal and the rowel of a spur. This rowel, which at first caused some doubt as to the identity of the remains, is, to our apprehension, its most conclusive proof. When an execution took place like that by which Brune-hilde suffered, it was the custom to attach spurs to the horse's flanks: one of these spurs may easily have become entangled in the clothes, or broken off in the flesh of the criminal; and, the body and clothes being subsequently consumed and buried together, this rowel was very naturally found in the ashes of the tomb.

This execution took place in 614, as is proved by the epitaph on the monument:

“ Brune-cheul fut jadis royne de France,  
Fondateresse du lieu de céans;  
Cy inhumée en six cent quatorze ans,  
En attendant de Dieu vraie indulgence.”\*

France is indebted to Brune-hilde for its first great roads; and some causeways in Burgundy and Picardy still bear her name.

Hlot-her II. had, then, become sole master of the kingdom: but the leaders of the army, taking advantage of the disturbed state of affairs that followed the death of Hlodo-wig, had managed to secure to themselves a considerable portion of the sovereign power. This encroachment was promptly perceived by the nobles; who, jealous of the increasing strength of the generals, began now to contend with them for a share of the usurped authority. This incipient germ of the feudal system first made itself known in Austrasia.† Hlot-her conceded to his chiefs life-benefices and the privilege of a free election of their mayors: and with Warnaher,‡ the

\* Brune-hilde was erst of France the queen,  
And eke was foundress of this place;  
Was buried here in six-fourteen, (614)  
And here awaits God's pardoning grace.

† That is, the feudal system of the conquest, which must not be confounded with the national feudal system.

‡ Eminent for protection.

first who was chosen by them, commenced that principle of aristocratic election which, one hundred and sixty years later, was destined to overthrow and supersede the royal dynasty.

Hlot-her died in 628. He left a code of laws that were generally approved.

Before discussing the progress of his successor, Dagobert I., we will direct our attention toward the East, and to an event deeply affecting the interests of the world.

On the tenth of September, 570, near the confines of Arabia Petræa, in the city of Mecca, and in the bosom of the tribe of the Koreishites, a child was born; whose ancestors for five generations hold the sovereignty of that city. Death deprived him of his father in the second month, and of his mother in the sixth year of his age. The orphan was educated by his uncle, Abou-Thaleb, and he chose commerce for his profession. At the age of thirteen, he went into Syria. At eighteen, the propriety of his conduct, the frankness of his words, and the conformity of his actions to his words, gained for him the name of Al-Amin, — the Faithful. At forty, having studied the religious dogmas of the various countries through which he had travelled, he carefully estimated his own and their relative positions.

He saw the Arabs divided into rival tribes; some professing idolatry, and some, a corrupted Judaism;

while the eastern Christians, composed of numberless sects, were persecuting one another with fury.

He, alone, in the midst of this distracted and ignorant people, being endowed with a felicitous memory, a lively eloquence, great presence of mind, a robust constitution, and indomitable courage, felt his own superiority; perceived that the earth was ready for the seed; and believed that he, like Jesus, the son of Mary, might be called to preach the tenets of a new religion. He soon presented himself to the people as the Apostle of God; and, as is usual with the founders of new sects, he commenced his career against the opposing influences of incredulity and persecution. Denounced as a false prophet by the Koreishites, he was forced to fly from Mecca, a proscribed fugitive: and from this flight, which corresponds in date to our 16th of July, 622, begins—under the name of the Hegira, (or flight)—a third era of the world.

He found a refuge at Medina, where his disciples followed and rejoined him. He now collected an army, placed himself at its head, and, sword in hand, cut his way to the city that had banished him. On the 12th of January, 630, he entered Mecca in the joint capacity of conqueror and prophet, in his sixtieth year. He repaired to the temple and caused its three hundred and sixty idols to be cast down, not even sparing the statues of his ancestors, Abraham and Ishmael. And, in order to the complete purifi-

cation of the holy place, he turned himself, successively, toward the East, the South, the West and the North — at each pause crossing his arms upon his breast, exclaiming “Allah ak-Bar,” God is great. Two years afterward, full of honors; sole prophet of a religion which now sways half the ancient hemisphere; founder of an Empire which, aggrandized by his successors, embraced, within the period of ninety years, more territory than the Romans in eight centuries had subdued; — he died at Medina, on the 8th of January, A. D. 632, and for three entire days the chiefs of the tribes he had conquered watched around his corse, unable to believe that he who had accomplished such mighty deeds was mortal, like themselves.

This individual — an orphan in his childhood; an outlaw in his manhood; a conqueror in his age — was MAHOMET the Prophet, whom they of the East style Mohammed-Aboul-Cassem.

And now, awaiting the period when his race, finding themselves too much circumscribed in Asia and Africa, appeared on the summit of the Pyrenees, we resume the history of France.

In the month of November, 628, Dagobert was proclaimed King by the Frank chiefs. He took the throne by means of successful intrigue and not by right of birth — he having excluded his brother from an equal division of the kingdom. Nevertheless, he afterward ceded to him, as a sort of apa-



nage, the territory of Toulouse, Quercy, Agenois, Perigord, and Saintonge, to which, also, he subsequently united Gascony, suffering him to style himself King of Toulouse. Dagobert espoused three wives; Gomatrude, Nante-hilde and Rague-trude; and from this time the extravagances and disorders of his reign began. He made the tour of his kingdom accompanied by his leudes, \* invested with his royal robes and followed by his three wives—to whose train was attached such a number of their husband's concubines, that Frédegaire declares he could not count them. Saint-Eloi, whose popular song Fame has rendered so familiar, arrived at his court a simple goldsmith, but was soon enriched with girdles of precious stones.† He first made for Dagobert an arm-chair of massive gold; and, subsequently, a throne of the same metal, on which the King sate in 629, when he presided over a general assembly of lords.

From this period, the power of the mayors (which sprang up by the side of the royal power) began to be perceived and felt in the person of Peppin-de-Landen—called, by some historians, Peppin-the-Old,

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\* Leudes, or faithful: a body-guard created by the Frank Kings. The lands ceded to them by the monarchs, in recompense of their services, made them at first lords, and afterward grand vassals.

† Vita sancti Eligii.

because he was the *ancestor* of a mighty race. Owing to the concession of the free election, imprudently granted to the nobles by Hlot-her II., the mayors had already ceased to be the King's men, and had become the supporters of the nobles. Under the succeeding reigns, we shall see a furious contest established between these two rival powers, which terminated fatally to the Merovingian Kings.

Dagobert died in 638, after a reign of sixteen years. He was buried in the church of St. Denis, and a monument was there erected to his memory. He was the first of the Frank Kings who received the honors of canonization already accorded to queen Hlodo-hilde. His disorderly and dissolute life seems to furnish a singular pretext for his being sainted after death. But the following very sensible story accounts for the sage proceeding.

Audo-ald, \* bishop of Poitiers, having been sent by the King into Sicily, visited there a holy and venerated anchorite who lived in a hermitage on the sea-shore. The hermit informed the prelate of the King's death in the following terms, as related by Gaguin :

“In the midst of my slumbers, last night, an old man with a long beard awakened me and bade me pray for the soul of Dagobert. I arose to obey ; when, from my window, I saw over the middle of the

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\* Firm and faithful.

sea a company of devils who, with great triumph, were transporting to hell the soul of the defunct King. The unhappy spirit, grievously tormented, screamed loudly for aid to the martyrs St. Martin, St. Maurice and St. Denis. These saints, thus invoked, descended from heaven in the midst of lightnings and tempests, and delivered the King's soul, which they bore away, singing the song of David: 'Blessed is the man whom Thou choosest.' "

On his return, Audo-ald related the marvellous story: and ever afterward Dagobert was venerated as a saint.

The entire story is inscribed in marble on the King's tomb: the combat of the saints and demons is represented in detail, and the three conquerors hold a sheet on which they are bearing the soul of Dagobert to Paradise. The fine female figure weeping over the tomb, is a statue of the queen, Nantehilde.\*

Hlodo-wig II. and Sighe-bert II. succeeded their father and divided anew the Frank kingdom. Hlodo-wig took the title of King of Neustria and Burgundy: and Sighe-bert, King of Austrasia.

Peppin-de-Landen's first act of authority was an act of justice. He sent ambassadors to Hlodo-wig, demanding a proper division of Dagobert's treasures.

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\* Beautiful as Nauda. Nauda is one of the daughters of Odin.

Hlodo-wig assented and sent Egue,\* mayor of the palace of Neustria, to Compeigne, where the gold and jewels were equally divided between the two Kings and their mother, Nante-hilde.

Peppin-de-Landen died, and his son, Grimo-ald succeeded him. Egue died a short time afterward and was succeeded by Erchino-ald. †

With Hlodo-wig II. and Sighe-bert II. commences the list of feeble Kings : the power of royalty soon followed its attributes and passed from the monarchs to the mayors of the palace. The blood of Hlodo-wig cooled in the heart of his sons ; and the descendants of the early Frank chieftains speedily fell from the buckler of Kings, their first throne, to the ox-drawn chariots of queens, their first tomb.

Sighe-bert died at Metz, in 654, leaving one son, whom Grimo-ald ‡ (mayor of the palace) kidnapped and sent into Scotland. Grimo-ald spread abroad the report of his death and caused funeral honors to be paid to him on a magnificent scale. He then substituted his own son in the place of the exiled prince, and proclaimed him King of Austrasia with the title of Hilde-bert II. But he was scarcely seated on the throne, when a general revolt of the Austrasian Franks swept him from power ; and all traces of Grimo-ald and his son were obliterated in the revolutionary tempest evoked by their usurpation.

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\* Subtle.

† Firm in sincerity.

‡ Firm in ferocity.

But the race of Peppin was not lost in the wreck. There yet remained, in the maternal line, a child called Peppin of Heristal, who was to be the father of Karl-le-Martel, grandfather of Peppin-le-Bref, and great-great-grandfather of Karl-le-Grand, (*Charlemagne*.) After the fall of Grimoald and his son, Hlodowig II. united, for the fourth time, Neustria and Austrasia under one kingdom. But he died in 657 at the early age of twenty-one.

Contemporary authors accuse this prince of a double sacrilege. First, he is charged with having taken the gold and silver plates which covered the tomb of St. Denis, to purchase food for the poor during a season of great distress; and, secondly, with having broken an arm from the statue of the same Saint and placed it in his oratory for the benefit of his private devotions — though at the manifest risk of detracting, by such mutilation, from the homage which the faithful were wont to pay to the patron saint of France.

Hlot-her III., his son, succeeded him as King of Burgundy and Neustria. Ebroin, mayor of the palace, compelled Batilda, the child's mother, to surrender to him its tutelage; and he soon possessed himself of the supreme authority. The Austrasian Franks refused allegiance to the Neustrian Franks, and demanded an independent King. Batilda gave them her second son, Hilde-rik. Shortly after he ascended the throne, his brother, Hlot-her, died in

670, having reigned but four years. Ebroin appointed Theode-rik (Batilda's third son) to succeed Hlot-her ; but as he neglected to consult the nobles — who had always maintained their right of election — they annulled the appointment ; and, seizing on the King and his minister, sent them to Hilde-rik, who caused them both to be shorn. He compelled Ebroin to become a monk of the Abbey of Luxeuil ; but, more lenient toward his own brother, he inquired what he wished to have ?

“A cell, and time for my hair to grow,” replied Theode-rik.

And, three years afterward, he re-appeared, his forehead bound with the double crown of the Kings of the first race.

During the interval preceding his re-appearance, Hilde-rik found himself, for a short time, King of the entire monarchy. But, having punished with imprudent severity a lord named Bodillon, — by causing him to be tied to a stake and scourged with rods — the enraged noble collected a company of mal-contented, surrounded the palace, burst open the gates and doors, and with his own hand slew Hilde-rik, his wife Bili-hilde then near her confinement, and Dago-bert their eldest son.\* The second son escaped the fury of the assassins, and in process of time succeeded to the throne, with the title of Hilpe-rik II.

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\* Frédégairé.

Hilde-rik, with his wife and son, were buried at St. Germain-des-Près. Toward the close of the last century, some workmen, while repairing the church, discovered two tombs: the one of a man, the other of a woman. By the side of the bones of the man were the remains of royal ornaments, a crown of gold and an inscription bearing these words: *Childericus, Rex*. In the tomb of the female was found a little coffin, enclosing the body of a child. The identity of the one is certified by that of the other. A royal family—foully assassinated—had slept for ten centuries in these unknown tombs.

On the death of Hilpe-rik, by a singular caprice of fortune, Theode-rik, whom we left shut up in a cloister at St. Denis, and Dagobert, who was driven into exile in Scotland by Grimo-ald, re-appeared simultaneously: and each took the crown to which he was entitled by inheritance.

After a reign of some years, Dagobert was slain in an insurrection; and Theode-rik, on learning the intelligence, immediately sought to re-unite Austrasia to Neustria. But the Austrasian nobles had already elected Peppin Heristal mayor, and Duke of the kingdom; and Peppin, in the name of Austrasia, proclaimed that this portion of the Frank territory would not submit to Theode-rik. The latter, to enforce his wishes, assembled an army and marched against Peppin. The hostile forces met at Testu, a small village between St. Quentin and Péronne.

Theode-rik was totally routed in the battle that ensued. He fled to Paris, but was pursued by Peppin, who took the capital, seized on the royal treasury and made Theode-rik prisoner. He afterward proposed to set him at liberty, on condition that he would appoint him mayor of the palace of Neustria. Theode-rik yielded to the necessity; and Peppin found himself mayor and Duke of both kingdoms, and King in fact of one of them.

After a reign of nine years — half of which passed under the dictation of Peppin — Theode-rik died in 691.

Peppin now cast an eye over the degenerated race, to choose a King under whose name he would govern the realm. He selected Hlodo-wig III.,\* who appeared on the throne of Neustria like a passing phantom; for he soon died, and so entirely obscured is he by the shadow of Peppin, that no writer has apprized us of the time of his death or the place of his interment.

It was during this reign that pens were first used in writing.

A King aged eleven years now succeeded to one who died at fifteen. Hilde-bert III. reigned sixteen years; his court all the time consisting of a few

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\* The Franks elected his son, Hlodo-wig, who was yet a child. Franci filium Theodorici parvulum regem elegerunt. (*Præmier continuateur de Frédégaire.*)



domestics, who were rather spies than servants. Peppin, on the contrary, was surrounded by the highest officers. He had a count of the palace; a grand referendary, and a steward of his houses; and he took to himself wives and concubines after the manner of Kings. One of his wives bore him Grimo-ald; and one of his concubines, Karl\* (*Charles*)—subsequently known as Karl-le-Martel (*Charles Martel*.)

Hilde-bert died in 711.

Dagobert III. was, in turn, shown to the nobles, elected by them, and immediately shut up in a villa, whence neither he nor his wishes ever appeared. The spirit of Peppin continued to animate the great monarchical body until the year 714, when he was attacked by a disease that terminated his life at Jupil, one of his country-seats, on the Meuse, opposite to his chateau of Heristal.

His son, Grimo-ald, was assassinated while on his way to Jupil; and Peppin, with his dying breath, nominated his grandson, Theode-bald, to succeed him as mayor of the palace — thus disavowing the genius of Karl-le-Martel, and placing a King sixteen years old under the authority of a child of eight. Plectrude, Theode-bald's grandmother, conducted the affairs of government in his name; and, to prevent any interference on the part of Karl, she detained him a prisoner at Cologne.

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\* Vigorous man.

After a time, the lords of Neustria, impatient at seeing a woman invested with the royal prerogative, incited Dagobert to depose her ; which he, nothing loth, prepared to do. He placed himself at the head of the discontented nobles and such an army as they could hastily collect ; and, encountering Plectrude in the forest of Compeigne, he totally defeated her forces and deprived her of the sovereign power. Meanwhile, Karl improved the opportunity to escape from prison, and Austrasia received him with open arms ; while Dagobert, scarcely rid of Theode-bald, appointed another mayor of the palace, and passed from the bondage in which he was held by Plectrude, into submission to Rainfroy.

However, the fatal hand which was so rapidly hastening the downfall of the first race of Kings, was not tardy in seizing on Dagobert. He died at seventeen : so that the united ages of the last three princes did not equal the ordinary duration of one human life. What was the malign influence that so early blasted these royal shoots ? No one can say : for the power of the mayors at this period was so great, that no contemporary historian has ventured explicitly to declare whom they destroyed and whom they suffered to live.

Rainfroy found the son of Dagobert too young to wear a crown. And the child who escaped, as we have seen, from the blows that felled Hilde-rik with his wife and son, discovered one morning in his

cloister that his priestly garments had been exchanged for royal robes : and, after he arrayed himself in them, all whom he met knelt to him and saluted him as Hilpe-rik II.

The short but energetic reign of this prince shines out in the history of the period like a single star in a gloomy firmament. His mind had been tempered, sobered and elevated by thirty-six years of meditation and misfortune in the solitude of a cloister ; and Rainfroy, who, in elevating him to the throne, had counted on finding him a pliant tool, soon discovered that he had placed over himself a master not to be controlled. Hilpe-rik II. was a true Frank chief, and Rainfroy was his lieutenant. The King designed the measures of his government, and the mayor, as his agent, executed them.

Hilpe-rik's first step was an alliance with the Duke of Frisons. A monk, formerly content with the narrow boundaries of a single cell, now found the whole of Neustria and Burgundy too limited a sphere for his ambition, and he determined to add Austrasia to his dominions. Radbode, chief of the Frisons, marched to effect a junction with Hilpe-rik ; but Karl, well knowing the consequences of their acting together, threw his army across the path of Radbode, in the hope of terminating the campaign by a single battle. But his plan was foiled, and he sustained a signal defeat. Karl, the hero ; Karl, who was yet to be called le Martel, (the hammer,) was conquered. His first engagement was a defeat, an

utter rout; but it was also his last defeat. He escaped into the forest of Ardennes with the wreck of his army, consisting of some five hundred men.

All obstacles to the invasion of Austrasia being thus summarily removed, the Neustrians and Frisons now united their forces, ravaged the country, and laid siege to Cologne. But Plectrude, by a timely offer of money, prevailed on them to raise the siege, and grant a cessation of hostilities. The Duke of Frisons returned to his own dominions unmolested; but the homeward march of Hilpe-rik lay through the forest of Ardennes.

Karl, who had fled to this place for refuge, now learned from his scouts that, by means of a well-planned ambush, he could render it a scene of victory; and he made his dispositions accordingly. Hilpe-rik, unconscious of the snare that was spread for him, established his camp at Amblef, and the army, with scarcely any precautions against an attack, retired to rest. In the middle of the night Karl divided his men into select bands, attacked the sleeping soldiers at various points, and broke and dispersed them so entirely that Hilpe-rik and Rainfroy had great difficulty in escaping with their lives.

This victory, as it may well be supposed, brought masses of troops to Karl's standard; and although Hilpe-rik with prodigious energy raised another army, and in two successive battles sought to regain the supremacy, he was completely defeated and driven into Aquitania. Karl marched directly to

Paris, and the gates of the city were thrown open at his approach.

From this time Karl was in reality King, though Hilpe-rik retained the title of royalty until his death, which occurred in 720, at Noyon. Karl now sought the son of Dagobert III., in the Abbey of Chelles, where he had been entirely forgotten, and placed him on the throne with the title of Theode-rik III. or Theode-rik-de-Chelles: he was at this time eight years old.

The reign of this child is known or distinguished only by the fact of being contemporaneous with the victories of Karl. This warrior, within a comparatively short time, conquered the Saxons and drove them beyond the Weser; defeated the Germans and forced them across the Danube; routed the Bavarians, who had unexpectedly taken up arms against him; and thrice vanquished the Duke of Aquitania, who had excited that province to revolt. And scarcely had he sheathed his sword after these various victories, when a cry of great distress arose from the south of France.

The count Julian, to revenge himself on King Roderick, who had dishonored his daughter, invited the Saracens\* into Spain; and, in the first battle that

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\* The author of the continuation of *Frédégair*e preserves their ancient name, calling them Ishmaelites.

ensued, Roderick lost his life and kingdom. The stranger-troops, having accomplished the object of their visit, now turned their attention and their arms toward France.

Suddenly, there appeared to the Franks, on the summit of the Pyrenees, an unknown banner, and an innumerable army curiously habited and uttering war-cries in an incomprehensible language. This army descended like a torrent into Languedoc, then held by the West-Goths of Gaul; seized upon Arles, Rodez, and Castres; crossed the Garonne; took Bordeaux; and, finally, burnt the church of St. Hilary, which was held in universal veneration.\*

But the flames, thus ruthlessly kindled by the Saracens, proved signal-fires to the inhabitants — warning them to resist the invaders, and directing Karl where to concentrate his forces against them. He met them between Tours and Poitiers, having under his command the united armies of Neustria and Austrasia.†

The battle continued for one entire day, and Karl enacted prodigies of valor. He slew great numbers with his own hand and at last struck down Abd-al-

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\* After having delivered to the flames the basilick of St. Hilaire — doleful thing to relate — they prepared to march and destroy that of St. Martin de Tours. — *Second continuation of Frédégaire.*

† In 732.

Rahhman.\* On the death of their general, the Saracens fled in every direction, abandoning their camp and leaving behind them an immense booty.†

From this day, Karl was surnamed *le Martel*, because he had, as with a mallet, crushed the invaders.

Thus, an infidel host was invited to disturb the peace of Europe because a petty Visigothian King had violated some insignificant Lucretia: and, as a sequel, the continent might have become Mohammedan, had not the son of a concubine appeared for the rescue of Christendom.

We can now scarcely follow Karl through his various combats and rapidly succeeding victories. Burgundy refused to acknowledge his authority and was promptly reduced to submission. Papou, Duke of Frisons, revolted; but he was defeated and slain, and with him perished the race of the Frison Dukes. Karl overthrew their idols, demolished their temples, burned their cities, and cut down their sacred groves. The duke of Aquitania having withdrawn his oath of allegiance to Neustria, Karl immediately invested Blaye, his citadel; and Bordeaux, his capital; and took possession of both. Provence next became refractory, and Arles and Marseilles paid the penalty of their presumption. Saxony rebelled, and was

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\* Servant of the Merciful.

† Paulus Diaconus.

forced thenceforward to pay Karl an annual tribute. Another army of Saracens appeared in Provence and seized on Avignon: but Karl carried the city by assault and destroyed it by fire. The Saracens of Spain flew to the aid of their brethren; Karl encountered them between the Val-de-Corbière and the little river of Bert, and crushed them at the first onset. They retreated toward their ships, but Karl pursued them so swiftly that he outstripped them in the race, reached their vessels, and took possession of them: and the entire infidel army, being thus deprived of the means of escape, was slain or captured. Karl then returned by Bezières, Magdelonne, Agde and Nismes, razed the fortifications of the latter town, and garrisoned the others with men devoted to his interest, who took the oath of allegiance to him in a formula wherein the name of King Theode-rik was not once mentioned.

Theode-rik died at the age of twenty-three, after a reign of seventeen years. He was buried at St. Denis, and the people seemed in no haste to remind Karl that a successor had not been appointed.

Karl, on his own part, took no measures toward supplying the vacancy; but continued for five years to rule under the title of Duke of the Franks and Austrasians;\* and this form of interregnum materially advanced the coming substitution of the Carolingian for the Merovingian monarchy.

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\* Abt  Conrad.



But, though Karl's power was too firmly established for the lords prudently to demand a King, the time had not yet arrived when he could safely present himself to them in that capacity. Pope Gregory II., in one of his letters, styles him Duke and Mayor of the Palace. And Gregory III. approaches still nearer to the regal designation by giving him the name of vice-roy. Though, while doing so, he was imploring his assistance under the following circumstances.

Leo (the Iconoclast), Emperor of the East, had prohibited the worship of images, commanding them to be taken from the churches and broken as idols. Gregory III. excommunicated him for his audacity, and thus took the first step of the spiritual against the temporal authority. Meantime Luitprand, taking advantage of the troubles of the empire, made himself master of Ravenna and menaced Rome. The sovereign pontiff, in great alarm, despatched to Karl ambassadors bearing the keys of St. Peter's tomb and a few links of the chain that had bound the blessed Apostle; and offering him, besides, the title of Consul of Rome. Karl accepted the gifts and, with a peremptory menace, only, forced Luitprand to withdraw his troops and restore to the holy father the dominions he had wrested from him.

Overwhelmed with the fatigue and labors of an arduous life, Karl now fell sick at Verberie-sur-Oise, near the city of Compeigne. He called his two sons,

Karl-mann and Peppin, to his bedside and bequeathed to them the kingdom purchased by his sword. Karl-mann received Austrasia, Germany, and Thuringia; and Peppin was made Duke of Neustria, Burgundy, and Provence. Karl then caused himself to be carried to Paris, knelt before the tomb of St. Denis, and expired at Querzy-sur-Oise, aged fifty years, in 741 — “after a reign of twenty-five years” says the continuation of the chronicles of Frédégaire.

Karl-le-Martel received, after death, the royal honors which, during his life, he dared not assume. His body was borne with great pomp to the Abbey of St. Denis; and the substitution of the second race for the first was confirmed by the interment of an aristocratic corse in the royal cemetery.

Peppin, lacking the influence and authority so eminently possessed by his father, soon heard on every side the murmurs of the turbulent nobles, who wanted only a pretext to revolt. In order to accede to their wishes, and at the same time to give them a proof of the degeneracy and incompetency of the Merovingian race which they desired to perpetuate on the throne — he chose, as the individual most likely to effect this latter object, a son of Theode-rik, whom he placed on the throne in 743 or 744 with the title of Hilpe-rik III.

The people of the several provinces rendered tributary to the Franks by the victories of Karl began, also, to obey with great reluctance the sons of their

conqueror. One after another they revolted; but here Karl-mann and Peppin proved themselves worthy of their high descent, for they successively defeated and subdued Odillon, duke of Bavaria; Theode-rik, duke of Saxony; and Hunold, duke of Aquitania.

Suddenly, however, in the very midst of his triumphs, Karl-mann became disgusted with power, with man, and with the world. He gave up the government of the entire monarchy to Peppin, relinquished his warlike arms and appointments, and, habiting himself in the humble garb of a monk, demanded from Pope Zachary a place in the abbey of Mont-Cassin.\*

Peppin now remained alone in front of the phantom of a King. But, after a time—either forced into the measure by Peppin, or impelled by his own wishes—Hilpe-rik III. abdicated with the consent of his vassals, and retired to the monastery of St. Bertin, in Artois.

Peppin at once appreciated his position. He saw everything concurring in the annihilation of one race and the exaltation of another. He therefore assembled his nobles, displayed to them his title and claims to the crown, and was proclaimed, by a unanimous voice, King of the Franks.

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\* In this year (745) Karl-mann acquainted his brother Peppin with a project on which he had for a long time meditated, viz.: to retire from the world and serve God in the habit of monk. — *Annals of Eginhard*.

It was, consequently, by virtue of election, as most worthy, and not by usurpation as the strongest, that Peppin became the head of a dynasty which numbered thirteen Kings. The usurpation commenced with his son ; for, in his case, the principle of election was sacrificed to that of inheritance : but, as a compensation for the infringement, that son was CHARLEMAGNE.

Before proceeding with the second race, we will give a glance at the first, which still survived in the person of Hilpe-rik III.—whose life and death passed unheeded in the abbey of Fontenelle, now called St. Vandrille. This rapid survey will be devoted to the manners and customs of the men of the conquest, in connexion with the rise and growth of the several powers which, at a later day, were to form the religious monarchy of the second race and the feudal system of the third.

We have given the name of Franco-Roman to this first monarchy because, that while the conquerors retained their own vernacular tongue (which was religiously preserved ;) they nevertheless adopted—with the exception of the free election of their Kings, which though sometimes violated was never abolished—first, the manners and afterward the creed of their vanquished subjects.\*

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\* The Franks gave the name of Romans, without distinction, to the three primitive nations of Gaul who had been subjected to the Roman government.

Indeed, the only change seems to have been a substitution of the title of Chief for that of General; \* for those who bore the new appellation borrowed from their predecessors even their costume. Constantinople sent to them, as to her Consuls, the purple: their Kings took the title of Augustus, as did the Emperors: their crown was the band of gold: their sceptre, a palm, similar to that thrown away by Sylla and recovered by Octavian: the leudes of Hlodowig were a counterpart of Caligula's prætorian guard: and the prevailing costume was the chlamyde, over which was thrown a mantle of white or blue, short at the sides, long in front, and trailing behind. The theatres were circuses: the games, combats of lions and bulls. The ornaments of cities were triumphal arches and capitols. The great roads were military high-ways; the churches, ancient temples; and the laws, the Theodosian code. The throne, alone, differed from the curule chair of the Consuls and the golden arm-chair of the Emperors: it was a simple stool, without arms or back, which, from its very form, warned the early Frank chiefs—those Kings of the shield—that they would be obliged to sustain themselves without aid from others.

The army had no other pay than the spoils of war:

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\* Dux.

each one brought his part, and all divided and shared the booty like brothers. The vanquished territory belonged to the conqueror; who, according to the services to be rewarded, bestowed portions of it on his generals under the names of *alleu*, or lands in fee, and of *fiefs*, or lands held of the King during his pleasure. The inhabitants of these domains were given with the land, and they became thenceforward the property of a master whose control over them was absolute.

The precise time when these territorial cessions commenced should be fixed, we think, at that period when the division of the monarchy between the children of Hlodowig gave rise to the family feuds we have mentioned. As the power of each sovereign consisted in the confidence he could repose in his generals and soldiers, each was obliged to make sacrifices to secure the attachment of his subordinates. The gift of lands in *alleu* gave the recipients a strong interest to defend the soil; the owner fought for his possessions as the King did for his kingdom. Of course, this manner of disposing the land could not have been in operation during the time of Hlodowig, since he granted to St. Rémy all he could walk around during his sleep. Now, there is nothing to show that he dictated to the prelate what route he should pursue; and, certainly, he could not have proceeded far in any direction without crossing land bestowed in *alleu*, the proprietor

of which would scarcely have consented to be despoiled from mere consideration to the King's promise. The incident of the vase of Soissons sufficiently evinces the respect that all — conquerors, chiefs, and soldiers — paid to the right of property.

In taking a survey of Gaul under Hlodowig, we see only a conquering King, conquering generals, and a conquering army. The vanquished populace were no longer regarded in the rank of nations, for they had become mere slaves.

The territorial divisions which took place under the reigns of Theode-rik, Hlodomer, Hildebert, and Hlothar, in no particular changed the position of the degraded inhabitants, except that their bondage became more complete by the partition. They formed an immense troop, and, on the death of their master, were divided among his heirs who had the right to sell them, give them away, or slay them.

This is the reason why ancient historians are so silent concerning the people under the first race: this is the reason why fourteen millions of individuals, whom Cæsar had made Roman citizens, seem — so far as the records of history are concerned — to have suddenly disappeared from the face of the earth, leaving no trace or memorial behind them.

It is our purpose, however, to keep them in remembrance, for they were the sole ancestors of the French nation: a people who submitted to the double conquest of civilization and barbarism —

from Gauls as they originally were, becoming Romans under Cæsar; and, from Romans under Cæsar, dwindling into slaves under Hlodo-wig. Upon this conquered territory, among these slaves and victors, was to arise, under the protection of the Cross, a vigorous and new race. The SAVIOUR CHRIST, is the only son of GOD, and the French nation was to be the eldest-born of CHRIST.

To explain our idea. We have remarked that the division of the kingdom of Hlodo-wig into four parts led to war between the sovereigns. As a natural consequence of universal war, famine ensued: for while every bondman and every freeman was engaged in mortal strife, the earth forgot to bring forth,

The royal as well as the seigneurial domains remained untilled, and over the whole expanse of this once rich and fertile Gaul, but a few fields of grain were to be seen.

These fields were the property of the successors of St. Rémy — men of peace, who had fertilized a few isolated spots of a land devastated in its length and breadth by men of war.

The harvests of these fields, however, were inadequate to supply the wants of the army: and Kings and nobles concurred in the self-evident proposition that to raise the aggregate of the harvests to the necessities of the people it was necessary to augment the donations of land already made to the Church.



And, having done this, the warriors — sure that the survivors would not die of famine—returned to butcher each other as before.

From the moment they belonged to the Church, the slaves (given, always, with the land) were free, and the soil was fertile : for CHRIST, in speaking of slaves had said, “ The disciple is not above his master, nor the servant above his lord.”

And he further said, of lands, “ The seed that fell on good ground sprang up and bare fruit, some thirty, some sixty, and some an hundred fold.”\*

In conformity to these words, communities were formed — genuine religious republics, subjected to agrarian laws, obedient to an elected head, an abbé, whose device, for this world and the next, was *equality*.

These were the people : —

A people vigorous and young ; who, increasing under the shadow of the Cross, were neither the citizens of Cæsar nor the slaves of Hlodowig, but were emphatically the people, containing within themselves the requisites of a nation yet to be. They were at first but a family, by no means powerful, who owed their existence to necessity and their preservation to the cloister : but their children were multiplying each day, their territorial power was

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\* These evangelical parables are remarkable for their truth, whether taken in a figurative or literal sense.

augmenting each year; and to such an extent was this increase of numbers and strength, that, toward the middle of the seventh century, Hlodo-wig II., in an assembly at the Champ-de-Mars observed that a part of the kingdom was not represented; and he apprized the clergy that they were to send deputies to the next convocation.

These first deputies, whose names have not been preserved, repairing to the assembly of the Franks, represented in an unperceived but incontestible manner the nation that was growing in the bosom of the conquest. They were the vanquished, already reacting against the victors. They were the sons of those who had received the law with their faces in the dust; which sons, now raising themselves on their knees, entreated the privilege of discussing this law: and waiting till their children, on foot, and sword in hand, should demand why this law had been imposed on them.

About this period Papacy began to proclaim its democratic mission, and took upon itself the defence of interests of which it soon became the representative: — an *elected* popular power in face of, and in opposition to, an *elective* aristocratic power; it employed the authority it received from the people to defend the people against royal and seigneurial encroachments. From this moment, the nation, represented by the Church, had its tribunal as the conquest, represented by the aristocracy, had its king.

One held a staff, the other a sceptre ; one wore a tiara, the other a crown ; and in the strife that these two rival powers waged against each other, the Caesar of the people, so long as he was the champion of the democracy, always terminated the contest by placing his feet on the neck of the aristocratic Caesar.

Such was the political labor of the Church during the early centuries of the monarchy. In the survey which we shall take of France after the extinction of the race of Charlemagne, we shall resume this subject where we now abandon it ; and follow it in its representation of the popular interest as far as the pontificate of Stephen III. and John XII.

The literary labors of the Church were immense. The cenobitical life, by detaching men from the cares of the world, forced them to expend their energies upon intellectual effort. The political independence of the monk gave him a literary independence. That learned tongue in which he wrote, and which was unknown to his conquerors, enabled him, while exhaling his scorn and hatred, to transmit to us his real sentiments toward his oppressors ; and to prove, by the constant application to them of the term *barbarians*, the true light in which he regarded them. Monasteries were, therefore, fortified libraries, preserving for us the treasures of pagan literature. The works of antiquity would have been lost, if the cloister had not received and enclosed

them in its inviolable recesses, where copies, undertaken sometimes in the pure spirit of science, sometimes as a penitential mortification, were multiplied in number; and by this means the chain of the past was connected with that of the future, and the ancient and modern ages were indissolubly bound together. Homer, Hesiod, Apollonius, Musæus, Coluthus, Æschylus, Sophocles, Euripides, Herodotus, Thucydides, Xenophon, Virgil, Livy, Polybius, Dionysius of Halicarnassus, Sallust, Cæsar, Lucan, Tacitus, Josephus, Suetonius, Jornandes, Salvian, Eusebius, St. Augustine, St. Jerome, Gregory of Tours, St. Remigius, Fredegaire, Alcuinus, Anguilbert, Eginhard, Teghan, Loup-de-Ferriere, Eric of Auxerre, Hincmar, Odo of Clugny, Gherbert, Abbon, Fulbert, Rigaltius, Ville-hardouin, Joinville, Guillaume de Tyr, Jean de Meun, Froissard, Monstrelet, Juvenal des Ursins, Commines, Brantome, Sully, and De Thou—this is the uninterrupted series of authors by means of whose labors we can ascend from verified modern facts to the fabulous traditions of antiquity. Each one of these is a torch placed on the highway of ages, illuminating his own epoch, and rendering feasible to all that follow the exploration of a road which runs through the middle ages of France, the barbarian irruptions from the East and North, the invasion of Cæsar, the conquests of Alexander, and the Peloponnesian war: a period of no less than two thousand eight hundred and thirty-three years.

PART SECOND.

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GAUL.

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THE CONQUERING RACE.

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THE FRANK MONARCHY.



## PEPPIN-LE-BREF.

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WE have shown our readers the ascendancy of the Austrasian over the Neustrian power, and the triumph of aristocracy over royalty; but our narration will have been misunderstood if it is thence inferred that the advancement of Peppin to the Merovingian throne was an act of usurpation. It was but the overthrow of a dynasty which, by degrees, had substituted in its own favor the right of inheritance for that of election. By choosing their King from without the circle of the reigning family, the nobles had made use of a neglected, but not abolished privilege. All the requirements of the law of election had been complied with. The Pope\* had approved the nomination of the leudes; and thus the choice of

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\* To the following question proposed by Peppin—"Which should bear the title of King; an impotent prince, or a capable mayor of the Palace?" the Pope (Zachary) replied: "He alone merits the title who can adequately discharge the duties of a King."

the conquering people was ratified by the conquered people, of whom Zachary was the representative. A hope was naturally entertained that the accession of the founder of the second dynasty to the throne would essentially ameliorate the condition of the lower orders; and in fact, the change from slavery to servitude took place under his descendants. Moreover, this was the first instance of the Pope's consecrating, by his spiritual approbation, the act of the temporal authority which elevated a King to the throne.

This condescension on the part of the Pope was amply recompensed. In the first place, Peppin consented to be consecrated at Soissons by Boniface, arch-bishop of Mayence, according to the Jewish rite. The prelate anointed him with oil, after the manner of the Kings of Israel: and this ceremony, adopted by his successors, and continued until the fall of Charles X., became the principle to which the Kings of France allied the doctrine of the divine right. In the next place, he fought and defeated Astolph, King of the Lombards, who had besieged Rome: and he gave to the church of St. Peter a portion of the vanquished King's dominions. Thus, he recognised, at his coronation, the spiritual supremacy of Zachary; and by this surrender of territory to Stephen III., Zachary's successor, he laid the foundation of the temporal power of Rome.

Between the two periods at which these important



acts occurred, another incident of moment took place, viz.: the journey of Stephen III. into Neustria. He came to demand assistance from Peppin; and, as a preliminary, he anointed Peppin's sons, Karl and Karl-mann, heirs to the throne.

Thus, in Peppin's case, consecration followed election and confirmed it; his accession did not in any manner infringe upon the customs by which the Merovingian Kings ascended the throne.

But in the case of Karl and Karl-mann, on the contrary, not only did consecration precede, but actually supersede, election; and the rights of the conquering nation which were only violated under the first race, were totally abolished under the second. From this moment it was easy to foresee that the papal authority, representing the popular will, would increase with the development of that will; would follow it in its progress; remain faithful to it in all its mutations; and, when the time should arrive for a strife between the conflicting interests of the people and royalty, it would take part with the native against the foreigner, and make common cause with the men of the nation against the men of the conquest.

It was, thus, a characteristic of Peppin's reign—and the example has been more than once followed in after times,—that powers and privileges, resuscitated to secure his exaltation to the crown, were afterward ungratefully abused to perpetuate his dynasty; and in this, we apprehend, consists usurp-

ation, rightly so called: nor an assumption of power over Kings, but over the rights of those who create Kings. The French nobles were greatly discontented; for two mighty principles, till then unrecognised, had taken precedent of their ancient prerogative: first, the principle of divine right; and, secondly, that of inheritance.

But, to return to Peppin.

Pope Stephen III., at his death, was succeeded by his brother Paul: and at this time the Saxons, the Slavonians, and the Lombards again threatened Rome. Peppin marched to the aid of Paul and conquered the invaders; compelling the King of Slavonia and the Prince of Lombardy to become his vassals and thenceforward to pay tribute to France. The Pope, in return for this timely assistance, sent to Peppin some choristers of the Roman Church, to instruct those of his palace; and made him a present of several manuscripts of geography, orthography, and grammar; and, among others, the works of St. Dionysius the Areopagite, and Aristotle's logic: and also, a nocturnal clock, the first ever seen in France.\*

Peppin next turned his arms against Vaïfre, Duke of Aquitania, who was descended from Bogghis, son of Hari-bert, and who consequently carried in his veins the pure blood of the first race. Indeed, the

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\* *Epistola Pauli ad Pippin.*

existence of this genuine branch of the first race in Aquitania had been, and was still to be, a source of constant jealousy on the part of the sovereigns of the second race, and of resistance and revolt on the part of the descendants of Hlodowig—the latter uniformly refusing to acknowledge themselves vassals of a throne that had belonged to their fathers.\* In the present expedition, Vaïfre was defeated, and in the flight that ensued, he was slain by his own troops.† The duchy was re-united to the crown.

Shortly after this conquest, Peppin fell dangerously ill at Saintes. He caused himself to be carried to the tomb of St. Martin, where he prayed two days; and thence he was transported to St. Denis, where he died of a dropsy.‡ He expired in the fifty-fourth year of his age, the twenty-sixth of his government, and the seventeenth of his reign. He was buried, according to his own request, with his face to the earth and near the door of the church; a position that he conceived to be indicative of extreme humility.

His two sons, Karl and Karl-mann, succeeded him in 768. Their father had taken care to divide

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\* Gaillard, Labruère, Châteaubriand.

† Continuation of Frédégaire. The name of the author of this continuation is unknown. It was written by order of the illustrious warrior, Nibe-Lung, son of Hilde-Brand.

‡ On the 18th. — or, according to some the 24th. — Sept., 768.

his kingdom between them during his life-time, giving Neustria to Karl-mann and Austrasia to Karl; and, to each, one half of the recently conquered duchy of Aquitania. The nobles, who dared not dispute the right of succession, ventured, nevertheless to resist the partition; and, in order to a formal demonstration of their rights, they assembled together and proclaimed Karl King of Neustria, and Karl-mann King of Austrasia,\*—thus reversing Peppin's appointment. The young Kings, however, accepted the change and were crowned simultaneously: Karl at Noyon; and Karl-mann, at Soissons.

Karl-mann died soon after his coronation; leaving two sons. But the nobles of Austrasia, emboldened by their previous success, refused to acknowledge these sons as Kings, and proffered the crown to Karl, who accepted it, and thus became the sovereign of the entire realm.

Karl was one of those men to whom a great historian should be exclusively devoted. He belonged to that class of beings whom God has predestinated for special purposes, and sent upon the earth at their appointed time. During the life of such men, marvellous things are accomplished; and they are ordinarily ascribed to mere human agency: for the visible cause is before us, and we attribute the events solely to its instrumentality. But after the man has

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\* Eginhard: in vitâ Caroli Magni.

passed away, and we calmly compare the ends he seemed to have attained, with the results actually effected, we find that he was but an instrument in the hand of his Maker, instead of a creature obeying the impulses of his own will ; and we are forced to see and to confess that the genius was blind in proportion as it was mighty ; and, the more it accomplished, the less was it self-directed.

Those historians who have presented Karl — the translator will hereafter apply to him the name by which, in our present language, he is universally known, CHARLEMAGNE — as a *French* monarch, have labored under a great misapprehension of the facts. Charlemagne was a man of the North — a barbarian, who never learned to write even his name : who sealed his treaties with the hilt of his sword, and enforced their observance with its point. Germany, the native land of his ancestry, was emphatically his own favorite domain. His two capitals were Aix-la-Chapelle and Thionville. The language he habitually spoke was the Teutonic. His dress was that of his forefathers. And when he found that, in his dominions, the Romance language was supplanting his vernacular tongue, and the national dress superseding that to which he had been accustomed, he gave orders to collect all the songs of his fatherland, that they at least might be preserved for his posterity ; and he obstinately refused to array himself in any costume but that of his progenitors.

Charlemagne is the type of conquest at the culminating point of its power. His throne is the most elevated point of the Frank monarchy, which was to give place to the French monarchy. His successors, unable to rise higher than his standard, were destined to fall far below it : and if the time occupied in the downfall of the race seems disproportioned to the gradual progress of its elevation, it is because descent is much easier than ascent in the scale of greatness and of power.

Charlemagne was sent upon the earth to found and to build, in the ninth century, a colossal empire in Europe : which empire was to crush the remnant of those savage nations who, by reiterated incursions, had overthrown all growing civilization and hindered the Gospel from bearing fruit. Hence, the long reign of this Emperor was devoted to one object,—the repelling of barbarism by a barbarian. He drove the Goths beyond the Pyrenees ; pursued the Huns and Avars into Panonia ; and destroyed the kingdom of Didier in Italy : and at length, fatigued with the toils of a thirty years' war with the Saxons, he determined to bring to an end their revolt, treason, and idolatry. For this purpose, he marched from city to city, placed his sword upright in the earth in the centre of each town, and, causing the people to assemble around it, he commanded his soldiers—upon the true Procrustian principle—to cut off every head that rose above the level of his blade.

One nation, alone, escaped him — the Normans: who, at a later period, by combining with the other nations already established in the bosom of Gaul, became the true and direct ancestors of the French people. At present, they owed their safety to the fleetness of their movements. Wherever they placed themselves on the soil of the empire, Karl was there in force to repel them : and no sooner did he appear, than they eluded his grasp and took refuge in the ships that lay waiting to receive them. The monk of St. Gall thus narrates one of their apparitions upon the coast : —

Karl, who was always on the march, arrived by chance and unexpectedly in a certain maritime city of Narbonnensian Gaul; and while there, a fleet of Norman pirates came to anchor in the harbor. When these strange vessels were discovered, a question arose as to the country whence they came. Some believed them to be Jews ; others, Africans ; and others, again, Britons. The Emperor, however, recognised them at once by their long hulls, slender masts, and sails like the wings of a bird of prey ; and, turning toward one of his followers, he said — “ Those vessels are not filled with merchandise, but with enemies.” At these words, the Franks sprang forward with great enthusiasm, determined to punish the audacious intruders, but their attempt was vain : for the Normans, having learned that the great Emperor (whom they were accustomed to call Karl-

le-Marteau) was there in person, weighed their anchors and set sail with incredible rapidity, lest their whole flotilla should be captured and burned — and thus they escaped not only the swords, but the fierce looks of the Franks.

The pious Karl, in the meantime, filled with a great inquietude, arose from the table ; and placing himself at a window that looked toward the East, remained there a long time with his arms folded and tears running down his cheeks. Then, as no one dared inquire the cause of this deep grief, he was pleased to say “ My faithful friends, know ye why I weep so bitterly ? It is not, certes, that I fear yon men will annoy me by their pitiful piracies ; but I am cut to the heart that they dare approach this shore while I live — because I foresee how they will persecute my children and their people after I am gone.”

We will give another extract to show how Charlemagne appeared to the generation that succeeded him : it is brilliant history : —

One of the lords of the kingdom, named Ogger, had incurred the displeasure of the terrible Karl ; and, to escape his resentment, had taken refuge with Desiderius, King of the Lombards. When it was known in Lombardy that the dreaded King of the Franks was approaching, Desiderius and Ogger ascended to the summit of a high tower that commanded a view of the country on all sides. At first,



they saw machines of war like those that must have served the legions of Darius and Julius. "Is not Karl with this army?" demanded the King.

"No," replied Ogger.

An immense troop of common soldiers came next, and the King again demanded, "Surely Karl is triumphantly advancing in the midst of this host?"

"No, not yet;" was Ogger's answer.

"What shall we do," said the King in alarm, "if he come with a still greater force than we see?"

"When he comes," answered Ogger, "you will see him as he is; but what will become of us, I know not."

While he spoke these words, the Emperor's guard that never knew repose, began to appear in the distance. The terrified King exclaimed—

"This is Karl himself!"

"Not yet," rejoined Ogger.

Next to these battalions came the bishops, the abbés, the priests of the royal chapel and the Counts of the empire. Desiderius, believing that he saw Death incarnate marshalling this troop, cried out with tears,

"Let us descend and hide ourselves in the bowels of the earth, far away from the frown and the fury of so terrible a foe."

But Ogger, though also trembling—for he too well knew the Emperor's power—prevented his retreat, being sure that Karl was not with this troop;

“Nay,” said he; “but when you shall see the grain shaking in the fields and bending as before the breath of the tempest; when you behold the affrighted Po and Tesin overflow the walls of your city with waves that are blackened by iron — then you may believe that Karl approaches.”

He had scarcely finished, when something like a dark cloud lifted by the wind was seen on the western horizon, and the sky, until then clear, became suddenly obscured. From the middle of this cloud the glancing of arms flashed forth upon the eyes of the awe-struck spectators, and Karl himself appeared; Karl, that man of iron; his head covered with a casque of iron, his hands encased in gauntlets of iron, his broad chest and huge shoulders protected by a cuirass of iron, his left hand, brandishing his lance of iron, and his right wielding his invincible sword. The inside of his thighs — where other horsemen wore not even leather, that they might with more facility mount their steeds — was covered with scales of iron. As for buskins, the whole army wore them of iron. His buckler was of iron. His very horse was of the color and strength of iron. All who preceded him, all who moved by his side, all who followed him — and, indeed, the army, as far as the means of each individual man would allow, was equipped in a similar manner. Iron covered the fields; iron covered the roads; the rays of the sun flashed upon innumerable points of iron, and this

mighty panoply of iron was borne by a race whose hearts were as hard as iron. The glancing of this iron now spread terror through the streets of the city, and every one in his flight reiterated the exclamation, "Oh, the iron! the iron!"\*

Charlemagne, like all men of great genius, was simple in his family, magnificent toward the people, and ostentatious with strangers. From the chronicles of the monk of St. Gall we can most accurately estimate his character in detail. His military expeditions are faithfully recorded by his friend and secretary, Eginhard; whose pages supply abundant material to any writer of the present day desirous to present a faithful picture of his conquests. His campaigns were fifty-three in number.

Our limits will not allow us to follow him either in his civil or military life. We can merely take a view of the state of his kingdom (to which he restored the name of the Empire of the West) at the time of his death. It was a colossal empire, for its shadow reaches even to us, and its name, if not its power, still lives in modern Europe.

We behold, then, this empire, aggrandized by conquest, powerful and respected, extending itself to the Baltic in Germany, to the Volturno in Italy, to the Ebro in Spain, and to the Ocean in Gaul. Nine great nations were enclosed within its vast

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\* The monk of St. Gall.

boundaries, subjected to the same laws and professing the same religion ; and this apparent concord, accomplished by the labors of a single reign, is but a stronger proof of the genius of the mind that conceived the plan, and the vigor of the arm that completed the edifice.

We quote from Eginhard an account of the precise limits of this Western Empire :

“France, as it was left by Peppin, comprehended only that part of Gaul situated between the Rhine and the Loire, the Ocean and the Balearic Sea ; that portion of Germany inhabited by the Franks, bounded by Saxony, the Danube, the Rhine, the Sala, the country of the Allemanni and Bavaria. Karl, by his memorable wars, added to these — first, Aquitania, Gascony, the entire chain of the Pyrenees, and the adjacent countries as far as the Ebro ; afterward, that part of Italy which, from the valley of Aosta to Lower Calabria, (the frontier of the Greeks and Beneventines,) extends a distance of a million of paces (in round numbers, one thousand English miles) : still afterward, Saxony, a portion of Germany as great in extent as twice the breadth, of the country inhabited by the Franks and equal to it in length : beside these, the two Pannonias, Dacia, Istria, Croatia and Dalmatia : and, finally, all the territory of those savage nations lying between the Danube, the Vistula and the Ocean.”

Charlemagne endeavored to change the names of

the twelve months of the year: the effort was abortive, but it is remarkable that one thousand years afterward the National Convention of France made the same attempt with the same success. It is also singular that the names adopted by Charlemagne and the Convention bear a strong resemblance to each other — though it is by no means probable that Romme and Fabre d'Eglantine (the authors of the revolutionary calendar of the 18th century) had any knowledge of the Germanic calendar of the ninth century. The following table shows the whole at a glance.

	REVOLUTION.		CHARLEMAGNE.	
January.....	Ventose,	Windy Month,	Wintermonath,	Month of Winter.
February....	Pluviose,	Rainy Month,	Hornunc,	Month of Mud.
March.....	Germinal,	Budding Month,	Lenzmonath,	Month of Spring.
April.....	Floréal,	Flowery Month,	Ostermonath,	Month of Easter.
May.....	Prairial,	Meadow Month,	Minnemonath,	Month of Love.
June.....	Messidor,	Harvest Month,	Prahmonath,	Month of Sun.
July.....	Thermidor,	Hot Month,	Heumonath,	Month of Hay.
August.....	Fructidor,	Fruit Month,	Arndmonath,	Month of Harvest.
Sept.....	Vendémiaire,	Vintage Month,	Windemmonath,	Month of Winds.
October....	Brumaire,	Foggy Month,	Windemmonath,	Month of Vintage.
November.	Frimaire,	Slcety Month,	Herbstmonath,	Month of Autumn.
December.	Nivôse,	Snowy Month,	Ifelmonath,	Month of Death.

These names in the latter column have a barbarous sound, and corroborate what has been asserted as to Charlemagne's having been thoroughly German. They were in use among several nations, and particularly among the Anglo-Saxons; and Eginhard

styles them *national* names : \* in point of nationality, therefore, the conquest was German.

As, previously, in the case of Cæsar, and, subsequently, in the case of Napoleon, a series of unlucky omens now announced to the world the termination of this mighty Emperor's career. "Many prodigies," says Eginhard, "were remarked at the approach of the King's decease ; and he, as well as others, regarded them as supernatural warnings addressed personally to himself. During the last three years of his life, there were frequent eclipses of the sun and moon : for seven days in succession a black spot was visible on the sun's disk : the gallery which Karl had constructed, at great expense, to connect the cathedral and the palace, crumbled to its very foundation on Ascension-day : the wooden bridge which he had built across the Rhine at Mayence — a wonderful specimen of architectural skill ; the fruit of ten years' immense labor, and which seemed destined to endure for ever — was suddenly consumed by fire in the short space of three hours, and not a vestige of it remained except what was under the water. At the time of his last expedition into Saxony, against Godfred, King of the Danes,† Karl, having

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\* Among the Franks, the months before his day had names half Latin and half barbarian : Karl gave them national names. — EGINHARD, *Vita Caroli Magni*.

† In 810.

left his tent before the sun rose and commenced his march, saw an enormous light fall suddenly from the sky, and, in a breathless atmosphere, flare alternately to the right and left ; while the army were admiring this prodigy, and wondering what it presaged, the Emperor's horse fell head-foremost to the ground, and so violently precipitated his rider to the earth, that the clasp of his cloak was torn off and his sword-belt broken, and he was unable to rise without the assistance of his followers, who disencumbered him of his arms ; the javelin, which he chanced to have in his hand, was thrown forward more than twenty feet from the spot where he fell. The palace at Aix-la-Chapelle was shaken by violent trembling of the earth, and the ceilings of the apartments occupied by the King were heard to crack. The mysterious fire from heaven fell on the cathedral where he was afterward buried ; and the golden ball that decorated the pinnacle of the roof, struck by the flash, was broken and scattered over the house of the bishop, which was contiguous to the church. In this church, on the border of the cornice, between the higher and lower arcades, was an inscription to the founder of the edifice, in the last line of which were the words, *Carolus princeps*. It was remarked, a few months before the Emperor's decease, that the letters composing the word *princeps* were so effaced as to be scarcely legible. Karl-le-grand testified no fear at these portents from above, and despised them

as much as if they had no connexion with his destiny."

Charlemagne died on the twenty-eighth of January, 814, at three o'clock in the day, in the seventy-second year of his age, and the forty-seventh of his reign. As he left no directions concerning his burial, it was a matter of debate where his remains should be deposited. At length, the magnificent chapel which he had built at Aix and placed under the invocation of the Virgin, was chosen for his last and perpetual palace. He was lowered into one of its vaults, drest in the hair-cloth vest, which he always wore, surmounted with his imperial robes. His famous sword, Joyeuse, was belted around him; with which blade, say the chronicles of St. Denis, he once cleft an armed knight in twain. He was placed on a marble throne, his crown on his head, the Bible on his knees, and the sceptre and buckler of gold — blessed by Pope Leo — under his feet. A precious chain hung around his neck to which was suspended an emerald that enclosed a piece of the true Cross.\* A royal mantle was thrown over his shoulders, and the pilgrim's scrip, which he was accustomed to carry on his journeys to Rome, was attached to his

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\* This chain and emerald were in the possession of Hortense, Duchess of St. Leu. They were given to her by Napoleon, who received them as tribute, from the inhabitants of Aix-la-Chapelle.



girdle. The sepulchre, paved with pieces of gold, was perfumed; the bronze door was closed and masoned over; and a triumphal arch was erected on the spot, bearing this inscription:

“Under this stone lies the body of Karl, the great and orthodox Emperor, who nobly aggrandized the kingdom of the Franks, reigned happily forty-seven years, and died a septuagenarian on the fifth of the Calends of February in the eight hundred and fourteenth year of the incarnation of our Lord, at the seventh Indiction.”

Hlodo-wig or Lud-wig I.—(Louis I.) surnamed the Debonnaire, son of Charlemagne, succeeded to the Empire. In conformity to the commands of his father, he refused to submit either to consecration or election. He took the hereditary crown from the altar, and with his own hands placed it on his head, demonstrating, by that act, that he had his authority from God alone, and acknowledged no fealty but to his Creator. This instance of energetic action, however, seems to have exhausted him. The colossal empire of Charlemagne slipped from his feeble grasp into dismembered provinces,\* and his successors divided it into nine separate kingdoms, viz.: Neustria, Austrasia, Germany, Italy, Lorraine, Cisjurane-Burgundy, Transjurane-Burgundy, Brittany,

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\* We shall hereafter examine the causes of this dismemberment.

and Navarre. His reign was but a series of revolts and civil wars. His sons, by his first marriage, were Hlot-her, (Lothaire I.), Peppin, and Hlodo-wig. The first was associated with his father in the empire; the others, created, severally, Kings of Aquitania and Bavaria, refused to admit Karl-le-Chauve (Charles the Bald) — a son by a second marriage — to a participation of power. They twice took arms against their father and twice dethroned him. Hlot-her then made him prisoner and carried him in his train from Rolfeld to Marlem, from Marlem to Metz, and from Metz to Soissons, where he incarcerated him in the Monastery of St. Médard; he then took from him the young Karl, his son, and sent him to the abbey of Prum in the forest of Ardennes.

But the three brothers soon quarrelled with each other. Peppin and Hlodo-wig, alarmed at the ambition of Hlot-her, leagued together against him, delivered their father from bondage, and reinstated him upon the throne, Hlot-her marched against his father a third time; but in this instance, he was defeated, himself made prisoner, and, by his father's great clemency, was banished to Italy. Soon after this, Peppin, King of Aquitania, died; and the Emperor, despoiling his grandchildren (Peppin's sons) in favor of his son, gave the whole of southern and western France to Karl-le-Chauve. He restricted Hlodo-wig, who murmured at this division,

to Bavaria only; added a few provinces to the dominions of Hlot-her and made him swear to be a faithful guardian to young Karl (the Bald) who was his half-brother.

Hlodo-wig, indignant at the partiality shown to his brothers, revolted against his father's authority; but the Emperor marched toward him, and by his presence alone dispersed the rebel army, without striking a blow. He forbore, however, to punish him with severity, as he had previously forbore in the case of Hlot-her. Immediately after this he fell sick, panic-struck by the appearance of two successive comets, followed by an eclipse of the sun so total that at eleven o'clock in the morning the stars were as distinctly visible as at midnight. He subsequently died of inanition on an island of the Rhine, near Mayence, having taken, for forty days, no other nourishment than the sacramental emblems of the Lord's supper.\*

Hlodo-wig-le-Debonnaire was the first Frank King who cultivated the sciences. He studied astronomy under an Arabian professor, spoke the Latin, and understood the Greek. The beautiful cathedral of Rheims was built during his reign; to which reign, also, the several ordeals of water, fire, and the Cross owe their institution. About this period, the Normans disembarked and established

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\* Vita Ludovici pii.

themselves on that part of Neustria to which, at a later period, they gave their name.

Thus the second race had hardly reached its third generation, when the foundations of its power were undermined. The Carolingian monarchy, young under Peppin, and mature under Charlemagne, was already superannuated under Hlodo-wig-le-Debonnaire.\*

\* We continue the orthography of the names of the first race, because our task, as historian, is yet with the Franks, and not the French. The Germanic idiom, up to this time, was the court-language, and the Latin itself had not yet despoiled the word Hludovicus of the H of its original orthography.

The following curious acrostic — which serves as a prologue to the poem of Ermold Le Noir — will be a proof to our readers of what we advance. In 881 — forty years after the acrostic was written — a song, the first two lines of which we subjoin, was composed in honor of Lud-wig, surnamed the Stammerer. It was written, evidently, in German; and the word Lud-wig appears to us clearly to indicate the intermediate transition from Hlodo-wig to Louis;

Einen könig wrez ich  
Heisset heri Lud wig.

Un roi je connais,  
Il se nomme le seigneur Ludwig.

AUGUSTIN THIERRY.

But to return to Ermold: — [This acrostic is more curious than M. Dumas' remarks upon it would lead the reader to suppose: for the author, with surprising ingenuity, has made the *last*

Karl-le-Chauve ascended the throne in 840, and no sooner had he done so, than Hlot-her, disregarding his oath of guardianship to his father, assembled an army and marched into Burgundy. Karl imme-

letter of each line the same as the first: so that it is a *double* or *compound* acrostic.]

## ERMOLDI NIGELLI PROLOGUS.

E-ditor æthereâ splendes qui patris in arc .....E  
 R-egnator mundi, fautorque, redemptor et aucto ....R  
 M-ilitibus dignis reseras qui regna poloru .....M  
 O-lim conclusos culpâ parientis Averna .....O  
 L-uminis æterni revehís qui, Christe, tribuna .....L  
 D-avid psalmicanus præsağa carminis illu .....D  
 V-oce prius modulans dudum miranda relat .....V  
 S-acra futurorum qui prompsit carmina vate. ....S

C-onfer rusticulo qui possim Cæsaris in ho .....C  
 E-ximii exiguo modulanter poseito rit .....E  
 C-armine gesta loqui. Nymphas non deprecor istu ..C  
 I-nsani quodam ut prisci fescere perit .....I  
 N-ec rogo Pierides, nec Phœbi tramite lime .....N  
 I-ngrediar capturus opem, nec Apollinis alm .....I  
 T-alia cum fascèrent, quos vana pueritia lusi .....T

H-orridus et teter depressit corda Vehemot .....H  
 L-imina siderei potius peto luminis ut so .....L  
 V-erus justitiæ dignetur dona precat .....V  
 D-edere: namque mihi non flagito versibus hoc quo ..D  
 O-mnia gestorum percurram pectine parv .....O  
 I-n quibus et magni possunt cessare magistr .....I  
 C-æsaream flectam aciem, sed cantibus hæc hu ....C  
 I-neipiam celebrare. Fave modo, Christe, precant ..I

diately formed an alliance with his brother Hlodo-wig of Bavaria, to defend his crown and punish the perjured King. The hostile forces met at Fontenay, on the twenty-fifth of June, 841; and, after a furious contest, Karl and Hlodo-wig obtained a decisive victory. Hlot-her abandoned his dominions to the conquerors, who divided them between themselves; but afterward they restored him to his throne, on his making conciliatory advances. This peace, however, brought about a new division of the kingdom; Hlot-her soliciting from his brothers a portion of territory besides his own, on account of the title of Emperor, conferred on him by his father.\*

The partition was therefore, eventually, as fol-

C-armina me exilio pro quis nunc principis ab ho... C  
 A-uxilium miserando levet qui celsus in aul.....A  
 E-rigit abjectos, parcit peccantibus, atqu.....E  
 S-pargit in immensum clari vice lumina soli.....S  
 A-lta regis Christi princeps qui maxime sceptr.....A  
 R-ex Hludovice pie, et pietatis munera Cæsa.....R  
 I-nsignis meriti, præclarus dogmate Christ.....I  
 S-uscipe gratanter profert quæ dona Nigellu.....S

A-usubus acta tamen qui tangere carmine vestr....A  
 R-egis ob æterni vestro qui pectore sempe.....R  
 M-ansit amor, Cæsar, famulum relevato cadente...M  
 A-ltitonans Christus vos quo sublimet in æthr....A

\* Si vellent aliquid illi supra tertiam partem regni, propter nomen imperatoris quod illi pater eorum concesserat, et propter dignitatem imperii quam avus regno Francorum adjecerat, augere, facerent. — *Nithardi historia.*

lows: Karl took that part of Gaul westward of the Scheldt, the Meuse, the Saône and the Rhone, with the northern part of Spain down to the line of the Ebro: that is, all of modern France excepting Lorraine, Franche-Comté, Dauphiny, and Provence, with the addition of Navarre. Lud-wig,\* those states speaking the Teutonic language from the Rhine to the Alps; that is, the empire of Germany bounded by Hungary, Bohemia, Moravia and Prussia. And Lot-her, in addition to Italy, took the eastern part of Gaul comprised, on the South, between the Rhone and the Alps — on the North, between the Rhine and the Meuse — and between the Meuse and the Scheldt as far as the mouths of those rivers.† It was this long band of territory, containing four nations speaking four different languages, and taken partly from the Frank kingdom and partly from the German empire, that the two brothers, Karl and Lud-wig, consented to attach, as a train, to the imperial mantle of Lot-her.

This same band of territory, however, was so slightly attached to the imperial mantle — Italy — that it parted from it by its own weight, and became a little kingdom by itself. It was called Lot-her-Rike,‡ from Lot-her; and, from his children, Lot-

\* From this time, the orthography of Hledo-wig was permanently changed to Lud-wig; as also that of Hlot-her to Lot-her.

† Augustin Thierry.

‡ Kingdom of Lot-her.

heringe-Rike ;\* a term of which Latin authors have made Lotharingia, and we, Lorraine.

After this great partition, we find, for the first time, in the MSS. of a monk of St. Gall, the word France used in nearly the same acceptation as we now use it. "At the conclusion of this division of territory," says he, "there was a division of name: Gaul, of which the Franks had taken possession, was called New France; and Germany, whence they came, Old France."†

Should the reader desire to see a specimen of the language spoken in New France at this period, he need but examine the two following quotations: the first is taken from the idiom of the North of France, i. e. the conquering nation; and the other, from that of the South, or conquered nation.

*Oath of coalition against Lot-her, pronounced in the Frank, or Teutonic tongue, previous to the battle of Fontenay:‡*

In godes minna ind um tes christianes folches ind unser bedher gealtnissi fon thesemo dage frammordes, so fram so mir Got gewizei indi mahd furgibit, so

\* Kingdom of the heirs of Lot-her.

† Francia, quæ dicitur nova, Francia, quæ dicitur antiqua.  
— MONACHUS GALLENSIS.

‡ Nithard. History of the dissensions of the sons of Louis-le-Debonnaire.



hald ih tesan minan Bruodher, soso man mit rehtu sinan Bruder seal, inthiu thaz ermig soso ma duo ; indi mit Lutheren inno Kleinnin thing ne geganga, zhe minan willon imo ce scanden werden.

*The same oath, pronounced by Hlodo-wig, in Gallic, or the Romance Language :*

Pro Deo amur et prochristian poblo et nostro commun salvament, dist di in avant in quant Deus savir et podir me dunat, si salvarai eo cist meon fradre Karlo, et en adjudha, et in cadhuna cosa, si com om perdreit son fradre salvar dist, in o quid il mi alae si fazet et ab Lud-her nul plaid nunquam prendrai, qui meon vol cist fradre Karle in damno sit.

*French translation of the oath :*

Pour l'amour de Dieu et pour le peuple chrétien, et notre commun salut de ce jour et en avant, en tant que Dieu me donnera de savoir et de pouvoir, je soutiendrai mon frère Karl ici présent, par aide et en toute chose, comme il est juste qu'on soutienne son frère, et jamais avec Lot-her je ne ferai aucun accord qui, de ma volonté, soit préjudiciable a mon frère.

*And, in English :*

For the love of God, and for the sake of this Christian people — as, also, for the common weal, from this time forward — according to the wisdom

and strength that God shall give me, I will sustain my brother Karl, here present, by aid and all things else with which it is fitting that one should assist his brother; and I will never, willingly, make compact with Lot-her which may be prejudicial to my brother.

In addition to these two languages, there was still another used in France—the pure Celtic.\*

The people enclosed in this cradle of growing France, and who, with the Normans, were to compose the French nation, were the Roman-Gauls; the Burh-Gunds, or Burgundians; the West-Goths, or Visigoths; the Vascons, or Gascons; the Bretons; and the Franks.

While this great revolution was in progress, the Normans prepared to establish themselves on the shores of France. They were, however, no longer a few wandering pirates, prowling privily about the Neustrian ocean; but a navy of six hundred sail, bearing a King, generals, and an army. They separated their forces into two grand divisions, and one ascended the Loire as far as Nantes and occupied Guyenne, Anjou and Touraine; while the other entered the Seine with the tide, surprised and sacked Rouen, and advanced to Paris. They found the city defenceless; Karl having abandoned it in terror,

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\* In vero Celtice, vel, si mavis, Gallice loquere.—SULPICE SEVERE.

and fortified himself at St. Denis, in order to protect the precious relics of the Apostle of France. As the Normans approached, Karl proposed a negotiation for peace, which the pirates granted on receiving seven thousand livres of silver.\* But a peace, so obtained, is certain to be of short duration ; and in this case, although the Normans retired, it was to return again in greater force.

Meanwhile, young Peppin, from whom Ludwicle-Debonnaire had wrested a crown to bestow it upon Karl, formed an alliance with these brigands, and the realm was soon desolated by fire and sword. A new treaty was now made on the following basis : a contribution of four thousand livres was to be provided by the Franks ; and, in addition to this, a certain sum was to be paid to the Norman chiefs for every Norman soldier killed by the inhabitants of the country ; and it was further stipulated that the Franks should seize and return to the Normans all prisoners who had escaped, without ransom. The invaders then retired to Jumièges to await the execution of the conditions of the treaty.

The price of this retreat, for the country beyond the Loire alone, amounted to more than five thou-

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\* The livre (or pound) of France, in the time of Charlemagne, is supposed to have been a *pound weight*, or twelve ounces, of silver : worth about thirteen of our dollars. The present French livre is worth about twenty cents.

sand livres. Every seigneurial mansion, whether of Count, bishop, abbé, or vassal of the King, was taxed one sous (i. e. the twentieth part of a livre, or about sixty cents American currency); each house of eight free persons was taxed eight deniers; and each house of a serf, four deniers\* — a denier is the twelfth part of a sous.

Some time after, another army of these barbarians united with the Bretons and took possession of Mans. They were eventually repelled, but Rod-bert†-le-Fort, Count of Paris, and great-grand-father of Hug-Capet‡ (*Hugh-Capet*), was killed in the action.

The Saracens, also, devastated, by partial invasions, the South and West of Italy. Peppin now caused himself to be recognised King of Aquitania; and Nomenoe, King of Brittany.

The Emperor Lot-her expired about the same time,

\* *Acta conventus carisiaci in capitul. Caroli Calvi.* — The annals of St. Bertin, which also give an account of this impost, differ from the above in the assessment of the tax:—"Karl agreed to pay the Normans four thousand livres of silver; and, to raise the sum, he ordered throughout his kingdom a levy of six deniers upon every free manor, three upon every servile manor, one upon every two cottages, one upon every inhabitant, and ten upon those who were accounted merchants."

† Brilliant speaker.

‡ Provident. As at the time when Capet ascended the throne, the Romance orthography began to prevail, we shall hereafter write, Hugues, instead of Hug.

at the abbey of Prum, having divided his dominions between his three sons, Lud-wig, Lot-her, and Karl. Lud-wig received Italy and the title of Emperor. Lot-her obtained that part conceded by treaty which became the kingdom of Lorraine; and Karl took possession of Burgundy and Provence. Lud-wig died in 875, and Karl-le-Chauve immediately crossed Mount Cenis with an army, forced his way into Italy and marched directly to Rome. Here, by the aid of enormous concessions to the Pope, he was consecrated Emperor. He died two years afterward at the village of Brios, in a peasant's hut; poisoned, as it is believed, by a Jewish physician named Sedecias.\* His body was at first interred at Nantua; but was afterward transported to St. Denis, where a magnificent tomb was erected to his memory in the middle of the choir of the abbey. His son, Lud-wig II., succeeded him in 877.

His short reign of two years is remarkable only for the resuscitation of the right of election vested in the nobles, who repossessed themselves of power as it escaped from the weakened hands of royalty. Lud-wig was proclaimed King by means of conces-

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\* Karl, being oppressed with fever and thirst, took a draught containing a powder given him by his physician, a Jew named Sedecias, whom he befriended and confided in too much. It was a mortal poison that he swallowed.—*Annals of St. Bertin.*

sions of fiefs and grants of land : alienations from the royal demesnes, which, passing from his hands into those of the nobles, laid the foundation of the national feudal system, as the relinquishment of territory belonging to the children of Hlodo-wig laid the foundation, as we have seen, for the feudalism of the Franks. His mother brought to him from Italy the sword of St. Peter, the crown, the sceptre, and the imperial mantle, with the will of his father declaring him successor to the empire. But he had not the courage to contend for his hereditary rights, and Karl-mann, eldest son of Lud-wig the German, presented himself for election and bore away the title of Emperor.

After a reign of but little more than eighteen months, Lud-wig II. died at Compeigne on Good-Friday, April tenth, 879.\* Lud-wig III. and Karl-mann, although his sons by a former repudiated wife, succeeded him. Karl the Simple, his youngest son, was born shortly after his death.

The young princes, neither of whom was more than fifteen or sixteen years of age, were consecrated together at the abbey of Ferrière, and they divided between them their father's kingdom in conformity to the decision of their subjects.

The Normans, meanwhile, continued their ravages. They pillaged, burnt or razed to the ground, on one

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\* Annals of St. Bertin.

side, Cambrai, St. Riguier, St. Valery, Amiens, Corbie, and Arras: and, on the other side, Maestricht, Liege, Tongres, Cologne, Aix-la-Chapelle, and Malmédy. Lud-wig III. marched against them, and defeated them at Saucourt, in Ponthieu, with great slaughter, nine thousand barbarians having been left on the field. But they soon rallied on the banks of the Loire and were again defeated at Tours. While Lud-wig, after the battle, was making his entrance into the city, his attention was attracted by a young girl of remarkable beauty. She fled at his approach, but he pursued her, on horseback, into a narrow street when his steed became unmanageable and dashed with him through an arched door where the maiden had disappeared. His forehead here struck against the arch with such violence that he was thrown back on the saddle and his spine was broken by the fall. He died of the injuries, three days after, in the year 882. Karl-mann succeeded him and took the two kingdoms under his own control.

About the same time, Karl-le-Gros (*Charles the Fat*) succeeded his brother Lud-wig the German, as Emperor of the West. He commenced his reign by a disgraceful treaty with the Normans,—who, at that period, were devastating Germany—conceding to them the territory they had conquered, on the sole condition that God-fred, one of their Dukes, should embrace the Christian faith and espouse the

Princess Ghiselle, daughter of Lot-her. This was the first settlement, sanctioned by treaty, which introduced these barbarians into the heart of Europe.

On the other hand, Karl-mann, at first victorious over the Normans, was now, in turn, defeated by them; and he saved his provinces from pillage, only by paying to the victors the sum of twelve thousand livres of pure silver.\* While his emissaries were occupied in collecting troops for a new campaign, he was mortally wounded in the thigh, at a boar-hunt, by one of those fierce animals at bay.†

Karl, the posthumous son of Lud-wig, was now only seven years of age. But as the energies of a full-grown man were requisite to keep the Normans in check at this period, the nobles refused the crown to the legitimate heir and offered it to Karl III., surnamed the Fat, who repaired at once to Gondeville, near Toul, and was proclaimed King in 884.

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\* Immediately, the souls of these avaricious people became inflamed with the love of money; and, having exacted twelve thousand livres of pure silver, they promised to preserve peace for twelve years.—*Annales de Metz*.

† Karl-mann departed for the chase; at which, grievously wounded by a boar, he lost both his life and his kingdom, 6th October, 884. Some say he was wounded by one of his followers, who carried his weapon carelessly; and as the deed was committed accidentally, the king concealed the truth, lest the man, being innocent, should nevertheless suffer death.—*Annales de Metz*.



Thus the empire and kingdom were again under the control of one man, as they had formerly been when the son of Peppin swayed the sceptre: but now the Emperor was Charles the Fat instead of Charles the Great, (Charlemagne.)

The Normans, having possessed themselves of the money which was the price and object of their treaty, awaited only a plausible pretext to violate it: and this pretext was soon supplied by the assassination of God-fred, who was slain at the island of Betau, by order of Karl. They promptly collected their forces to the number of forty thousand, and under the command of Sighe-fred burned Pontoise and laid siege to Paris.

This city, at the period in question, occupied only the little oblong island in the centre of the present metropolis now styled Isle-de-la Cité. Two bridges, thrown across the two opposite arms of the river, formed the means of access to the town. One of these bridges was constructed on the site of the present Pont-au-Change; and the other, on that of the Petit-Pont; they were defended by two large stone towers,\* and Eudes, or Ode,† Count of Paris,

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\* A charming isle possesses thee, (Paris): the river surrounds thy walls, its arms embrace thee, and its soft waves glide under the bridges that lead to thee on the right hand and on the left. On either extremity of these bridges, and beyond the river, protecting towers guard thee. — ABBON. *Siege of Paris by the Normans.*

† Generous.

who was afterward King of France, placed himself at the head of the inhabitants to sustain the siege.

The Normans pressed their assault with the aid of warlike machines almost unknown to the Franks.\* These were balistas, for hurling stones; galleries of approach, which, by their double roof, protected the besiegers; battering rams, intended to crush in the walls with their heads of iron; and fire ships, floating with the current, that lit up a conflagration wherever they grounded. The besieged, on their part, accomplished wonders in defence. The Bishop Gozlin, especially, animated the garrison by his exhortations and example. He planted a large cross on the ramparts, under the shadow of which he fought, with arrows or battle axe, every day for the year and a half that the siege continued.†

At length, Karl-le-Gros determined to march in person to the aid of Paris, which had made such a valiant defence. And one morning, the besieged

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\* The Danes fabricated—astonishing truth!—three machines, mounted on sixteen wheels of enormous size, made with immense chains and bound together. On each was placed a battering-ram covered with a raised roof: in the cavities of their centres and in the area of their sides, it is said that they could conceal sixty armed men with their helmets. — ABBON.

† There, however, many nobles and brave men made themselves conspicuous; above all, the prelate Gozlin shone the brightest. — *Ibid.*

were surprised to behold the summit of Mont-des-Martyrs\* crowned with the Emperor's army.

He had arrived, however, not to compel, but to purchase, a truce ; he came to treat and not to fight ; and this second treaty, like the first, was to be more humiliating and disastrous than a defeat.

The Normans raised the siege on receiving seven hundred livres of silver, and the privilege of free quarters for the winter in Burgundy — where they retired and committed fearful depredations.

These two successive proofs of weakness in Karl, satisfied the nobles that he was unworthy to rule so mighty an empire. They therefore deposed him, and he died in misery at a monastery situated near the extremity of the little island of Reicheneau, on lake Constance.†

Our readers will recollect the epitaph of Charlemagne ; we subjoin that of his successor in the fifth degree : —

“ Karl-le-Gros, nephew of Karl-le-Grand, entered with great power into Italy and conquered it. He obtained the empire and was crowned Caesar at

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\* Now, Montmartre.

† On the opposite side of the lake, and on the declivity of the mountain, the pretty château of Arenberg is visible from the gate of this monastery. It is the residence of the Duchess of St. Leu — another dethroned majesty ; but one who was never so truly a queen as since she has been only a woman.

Rome. After this, his brother, Lud-wig, of Germany being dead, he became, by right of inheritance, master of Germany and Gaul. At length, failing in heart, genius and body, a turn of fortune hurled him from the summit of this great empire into this obscure retreat, where he died, abandoned by all his kindred, in the year of our LORD, 888."

The deposition of Karl-le-Gros was nothing more or less than a reaction of the national spirit against foreign influence. His want of energy — disreputable to himself and to the people who had elevated him to the sovereign power — was the pretext, but not the motive, for his dethronement. By the new partition that we have designated, France became a distinct kingdom and perceived, at once, the possibility and the necessity of escaping from the German yoke. So long as the throne was filled by a King of the Frank race, this escape did not seem feasible: but now, the lords — whose territorial possessions, conceded by the German dynasty, attached them to the soil of France — took part with the soil against the dynasty, banished the legitimate heir, Karl-le-Simple,\* and, in his stead, placed on the throne Eudes,† Count of Paris, the valiant defender of that city so basely abandoned by Karl-le-Gros. An entire revolution, therefore, took place. The descend-

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\* Carolus Simplex — Stultus — Sottus.

† Son of Rod-bert, the Strong, who, as we have before related, was killed by a Norman arrow at the siege of Mans.

ants of the Carolingian race were expelled as anti-national, the heir to the crown was dispossessed, and a man of another race was called to the throne.

Karl-le-Simple now did, what Kings who are no longer wanted generally do—he applied to a foreign power for aid. He appealed to the Emperor Eren-hulf,\* with the determination, since he could not be elected by the free will of the lords, to be imposed upon them by force of arms. Eren-hulf, aware that with the expulsion of Karl all pretext of authority over France would escape his grasp, took the exiled monarch under his protection, convened a public assembly at Worms, and commanded the prelates and Counts to unite their exertions in order to reinstate Karl upon the throne.

Warned by these menacing demonstrations, Eudes prepared for a vigorous defence; though he was obliged, at the same time, to make head against the Normans. But, say the annals of Metz, “he was a valiant and skilful man, surpassing all others in beauty of face, height of stature, greatness of strength, and profundity of wisdom.”

The Normans invaded France; but they were vanquished. Karl, the Pretender, was also repulsed.

Eren-hulf, however, did not abandon his project, for he was aware of the advantage he could derive

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\* Eminently helpful. In Latin, Arnolphus; in modern French, Arnoult; and, in English, Arnold, or Arnulph.

from the fact of having so important a vassal as the Frank King. Nevertheless, he dared not openly declare himself against Eudes, who, in that case, would probably resort to invasion in the place of a defensive war. He therefore affected to have renounced his plans in regard to France, but labored privately, at the same time, to accomplish Karl's restoration.

For this purpose, he gave the kingdom of Lot-her,\* which was on the frontier of France, to his bastard son Swinde-bald ;† who, by his directions, assembled a large army, with the avowed object of aiding his father in his projected invasion of Italy. But after his arrangements were completed, he took advantage of the time when Eudes was engaged with the Normans, and suddenly invaded France. He proceeded, without molestation, as far as Laon, and laid siege to that town.

Eudes immediately drew off a part of his troops and proceeded to Laon, where, however, Swinde-bald did not deem it prudent to await him, but retreated precipitately into Lorraine. Eudes then made a formal and imperative demand on Eren-hulf for an acknowledgment of his title to the crown of France, which the Emperor conceded.

Karl now gave up all hope of returning to France

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\* We have already stated that this kingdom was Lorraine.

† Active and bold.

during the life of Eudes : and as the latter had no children he waited patiently for his death, which occurred on the third of January, 898.

From this moment, Karl's restoration was easy. The Emperor had but to menace the frontier with an army, when the national party, having now no rallying point, yielded to his demand, and the descendant of the German race of Charlemagne re-ascended the throne of his fathers.

Historians generally have been content to narrate the occurrence, simply, of these various revolutions ; but, from what we have now recorded, the reader will see that the motives and causes that led to them are equally easy to be ascertained. Indeed, we have but to study the history of interests, to become conversant with the history of men.

Karl did not obtain the kingdom of France without enormous sacrifices. Gratitude induced him to make large concessions of territory to his partizans ; and fear compelled him to adopt the same course towards those who opposed his elevation to the throne. Each noble, then, placing himself in the centre of his lands, formed a sort of independent sovereignty of his own : and as the necessity increased that each should resist, with his own forces, the reiterated invasions of the Normans, the nobles, by common consent organized, at their own cost, disciplined bands of troops, containing as great a number as their fortunes severally would permit. From

this time, the custom of levying companies of hired soldiers takes its date. The weaker put themselves under the protection of the stronger. He who possessed but a castle rendered homage to him who was master of a town; and he who held a town, to him who commanded a province: while the governors of provinces held office directly from the King. Thus was laid the foundation of the great feudal government, which we shall find completely organized under the third race.

While this seigniorial system—germ of the future noblesse—was establishing itself in the kingdom, a Danish exile, named Hrolf,\* collecting together all who were willing to attach themselves to his fortunes, made a descent upon England, where he won two victories: thence, he again put to sea and landed at Frison, which he compelled to become tributary to him. He then made a descent on the north of France, took possession of Rouen and rebuilt its walls and towers. He soon converted this town into a formidable fortress, whence he made eruptions sometimes upon England, sometimes upon Brittany, and sometimes into the very heart of France.

About this time, a great clamor from all sides

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\* In the Romance language, Rou or Roul, whence comes the French Raoul, and the English Rollo.



saluted the ears of Karl. Cries of distress were heard from Clermont, Mans, Nantes, Angers and Chartres; there were loud murmurs of disaffection from the national party, reproaching him for his weakness and inefficiency as sovereign of the realm. Karl became convinced that the revolution which he thought extinguished, was in fact only dormant; and, believing that a permanent reconciliation with his opponents was impossible; that the result of his contest with the Normans was doubtful; and that his defeat, by giving strength to the enemies of the German line, would lead to his dethronement; came to the conclusion that this Danish chieftain and his army, strangers to the national interests of France and the German influence of the Emperor, might aid him powerfully to suppress the malcontents, and relieve him from all dependence on his imperial patron and protector. He therefore sent an embassy to Hrolf, proposing to recognise him as Duke of one or more provinces: and, that their mutual political interests might be closely united, he proposed to give him his daughter in marriage, on condition of his becoming a Christian. Hrolf acceded to the proposals — demanding the possession of those shores which he and his ancestors had so often desolated, and with them the surrender of the Duchy of Brittany. After a long discussion, these were finally yielded. Duke Rod-bert, brother of Eudes, stood god-father for Hrolf and bestowed his own name

upon him. He then espoused the Princess Ghiselle : and all that part of Neustria, which extends from the mouth of the Somme to the gates of St. Malo, received the title of the Duchy of Normandy. Thenceforward this duchy formed a separate dominion under the crown, and Brittany, being subordinate to it, was reduced to the rank of *arrière-fief*.

This treaty, which afterward became the source of so many wars, was signed at St. Clair-sur-Epte ; where, also, Hrolf took the oath of allegiance to Karl. It was with great difficulty that this half-savage vassal was persuaded to submit to the ceremony usual on such occasions. He for a long time refused to place his hands between those of the King ; however, he finally consented ; but when he was required to bend his knee to his sovereign and to kiss his foot, the fierce Dane, unused to acknowledge any authority but that of his idols, and any power but that of his sword, swore he would bow himself to no mortal man, having already humbled himself quite enough in doing reverence to the new God that he had adopted. As this part of the ceremony was considered essential to its validity, Hrolf at length compromised the matter by commanding one of his officers to perform the requisite kneeling and kissing in his stead. The substitute was accepted from necessity ; but he appeared to have as little "devotion to the deed" as his master ; and, either through awkwardness or insolence, he seized the

foot of the King so rudely, and raised it so high, that his majesty tumbled backward on the floor.\*

Hrolf thus became Duke of Normandy and Brittany under the name of Rod-bert. The twenty years that elapsed between his conversion and his death were employed by him in rebuilding cities, repairing monasteries, cultivating the land and abolishing theft. As one expedient for accomplishing the last of these objects, he hung bracelets of gold upon the trees that grew along the high-way and prohibited the people from touching them : and it is asserted that some of these remained for three years undisturbed. Long after his death, his name, alone, had power to protect the oppressed. Hence, the Norman custom of vociferating *haro* in times of distress — the term being a compound of “ Ah, Hrolf ! ” used by those who, during the Duke’s life, called on him for assistance.

Thus was founded the celebrated colony of the Normans ; whose race, united with that of the Franks, gave Kings to England and Sicily.

While the preceding events were taking place at St. Clair-sur-Epte, Count Rod-bert quitted the conference, and, counting on the discontent occasioned by the treaty just signed by the King, he assembled the lords of the national party and presented himself for election. Rod-bert, as we before remarked, was

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\* Chronicles of Duchesne.

a brother of Eudes, and a descendant from Rod-bert the Strong, and of course his elevation would tend to separate France from German influence. He was elected in due form and was crowned King at Rheims in 921, where he received the oath of fidelity from a large number of prelates and lords.

Karl assembled an army to suppress this formidable insurrection and was joined by William, Count of Auvergne, and Raymond, Count of Toulouse. They advanced upon Soissons where the national army awaited them. Rod-bert was in the midst of his troops armed cap-a-pie : that is, with a coat of mail, a helmet and a lance. This weapon, little known under the first race, was now generally used by warriors. That he might be more readily recognised by his soldiers, Rod-bert drew his beard, which was long and white, through his visor ; but the device led to his death, for it rendered him a mark to his enemies, and he fell on the field struck, as some affirm by the sabre of the Count Ful-bert, and, according to others, by the King's lance. The battle, however, was not terminated by his death ; for his son Hugues, afterward surnamed the Great, (*Hugh the Great*) took command of the troops, and, exciting them to revenge his father's death, charged desperately upon the royal army and defeated it.

Karl took refuge with his kinsman, Here-bert of Vermandois, who promised him an asylum, but detained him as a prisoner. The nobles offered to

Hugues the crown they had given to his father; but he declined it and solicited their suffrage in favor of his half-brother, Raoul, Duke of Burgundy, whom they accepted — indifferent as to the man, provided he were not of German origin. Raoul was therefore elected King of France in the year of grace, 924.

The inhabitants of the southern provinces, not having been consulted as to this election, protested against it.\* A series of domestic and foreign wars succeeded. Some, against the Normans, who upheld the rights of Karl, half-brother of their Count; others, against William, Duke of Aquitania, who urged his claim to the crown as a descendant of the Kings of the first race: others, again, against the Hungarians, who devastated Champagne; and, lastly, those against Here-bert of Vermandois, who claimed the county of Laon in recompense for his treason.

The result of these various wars was that the Normans were repulsed; the Duke of Aquitania was subdued; the Hungarians were dispersed; and the county of Laon was ceded to Here-bert. Meanwhile, Karl-le-Simple died in prison in 929.

In 936, the death of Raoul caused an interregnum

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\* The will of Alfred, Duke of Aquitania, commences thus: "*Rege terreno deficiente, Christo regnante.*" We explained why the house of Aquitania did not rally around the national party, when we said that its chiefs were descended from the Merovingian race.

of five months, during which time Hugues ruled the kingdom. But the Frank dynasty was not yet extinct: for Lud-wig, a son of Karl-le-Simple, yet survived in England and the Carolingian party proposed him for election. At the same time Athelstane, King of England, sent ambassadors to Wil-helm,\* son of Rod-bert and Duke of Normandy, soliciting his influence to sustain the claims of young Lud-wig.† The national party, either from disgust or timidity, proposed no rival candidate; and as Hugues had no desire for the throne, but was foremost to declare himself in favor of the Carolingian heir, Lud-wig was recalled to France and consecrated and crowned at Laon in presence of nearly all the nobles of the realm and more than twenty prelates.‡

This occurred in 936, and the new King was called Lud-wig-d'Outre-mer—*Louis the Transmarine*, or, *Louis the Stranger*.

One of Lud-wig's first acts was opposed to the national interest, and, of course, impolitic. Finding himself surrounded by nobles with whose

\* Willingly protecting.

† Misit rex Anglorum Alstanus ad Guillelmum, principem Normannorum, legatos cum muneribus, ut Ludovicum, cum concilio procerum Francorum patris, in regnum revocaret.—*Script. rer. fr.*

‡ He was thence conducted to Laon, consecrated with the royal benediction, and crowned by the lord archbishop, Artaud.—*Chronicles of FRODOARD.*

opinions he could not sympathize, and jealous lest they should eventually deal with him as they had done with Karl-le-Simple, he formed an alliance with Otho, King of Germany; very naturally seeking protection from his own kindred.\* The lords highly disapproved of this proceeding, as it served to replace France under Teutonic tutelage. Loud murmurings broke forth around the throne, and Hugues withdrew his countenance from the misguided King, detaching, at the same time, from the Carolingian party Here-bert of Vermandois, Wilhelm of Normandy and Gilbert of Lorraine. The mal-contents of the whole kingdom joined them and a considerable force was at once organized against Lud-wig.

The King prepared boldly for the contest, though he was able to bring into the field but about half the number of troops that his enemies had mustered; but this disadvantage was neutralized by the energetic action of the King's prelates; who, accusing Wilhelm of having burned some villages in Flanders, and Here-bert of retaining in his possession some property belonging to the abbey of St. Remy-de-Rheims, — promptly excommunicated them both. The two Dukes were palsied in their efforts by the thunders of the Church; and Hugues, fearful lest, at the moment, they should abandon the enterprise, pro-

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\* AUGUSTIN THIERRY.

posed a truce for a few months; which was acceded to by Lud-wig on receiving hostages.\*

An event now occurred that disunited the interests of Lud-wig and Otho, and gave rise to a contest between them.

The inhabitants of Lorraine revolted against the King of Germany; and, declaring themselves independent, elected Lud-wig-d'Outre-mer for their sovereign. Lud-wig accepted the appointment and repaired to Lorraine, while England appeared with a fleet on the coast of Flanders, to recognise and support the title of her adopted son.†

But no sooner had Lud-wig departed from Lorraine, on his return to France, than Otho entered the revolting province at the head of his troops, pillaged and burned several towns, and re-established his own authority over it.

Meanwhile Hugues, Here-bert and Wil-helm besieged Rheims. The city was defended by the prelate Artaud, who was Carolingian, but a part of his troops declared for the national cause, and on the sixth day Artaud was forced to surrender. The deacon Hugues — son of Here-bert — was entrusted with the government of the city, and the three victorious Dukes marched on to the town of Laon.

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\* FRODOARD.

† The troops sent from England by Athelstane to sustain Lud-wig, crossed the sea and devastated the country of the Morins. — *Chronique de FRODOARD*.



They were vigorously pressing the siege of this place, when Lud-wig approached them from Burgundy, at the head of his troops. The Dukes, disliking to be placed between the garrison of Laon and the army of the King, raised the siege and retired to Alligni where they found Otho, to whom they offered their services and the crown of France.\*

Lud-wig pursued the retreating insurgents with all the troops he could collect; but Hugues surprised his army by an adroit manœuvre, and put them to flight. Lud-wig made his escape, with great difficulty, into Aquitania.

A legate of Pope Stephen, named Damasus, ordained Bishop at Rome for this very mission, arrived now in France bearing letters from the apostolic See requiring the French lords, under the penalty of excommunication, to recognise Lud-wig as their King and put an end to the war. Wil-helm yielded to the injunctions of the holy father at once; but Hugues and Here-bert continued the campaign. After a time, however, they concluded a truce that lasted from September till October. During the truce, Otho interposed between the King and the belligerent Dukes, and prevailed on the latter to

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\* They probably thought, that after availing themselves of the services of Otho to overthrow Lud-wig, they could easily expel this foreign King who, unlike the Carolingians, had no party in France.

become subject to Lud-wig. Tranquillity was thus, for a short time, restored.

The Duke of Normandy did not long survive the pacification. He was assassinated on the Somme, during a conference with Eren-hulf, Count of Flanders ; he left a son six years old, named Rik-hard.\* Lud-wig took the orphan under his protection, declared himself his guardian, and conducted him to Laon. Once within this town, he no longer dissimulated his ulterior intention of uniting the duchy of Normandy to the crown.

To remove any obstacle to this project which might exist in the person of Rik-hard, he determined to disqualify him for the duties of a king by burning the sinews of his legs—thus rendering him a cripple, and of course unfit to command an army ; which at this period was the first requisite for a King : but the young Duke's governor found means to remove him secretly from the city, by concealing him in a bundle of hay ; he thence conveyed him to Senlis and placed him with his maternal uncle, Count Bernhard. Lud-wig assembled his army to pursue the young Duke, determining, also, to subdue Normandy and annex it to his crown while it had no efficient sovereign to defend it.

At this juncture, many of the Norman nobles, aware of the great talents of Hugues, and knowing that

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\* Strong and brave.

his reconciliation with Lud-wig was a matter of necessity and not of choice, sent an ambassador to him with offers of their faith and homage, and promising to deliver to him the town of Evreux. Hugues accepted the proposals ; and once more the national opposition and the Frank royalty were set against each other in battle array.

Lud-wig marched upon Rouen, which opened her gates to him. But, subsequently, being drawn into an ambuscade, under the pretext of an interview with a Norman chief, named Haigroid, he and his few followers were suddenly surrounded by a superior force. His attendants were all slain, and he for the moment escaped ; but he was pursued by a Norman\* whom he supposed to be friendly to him, taken prisoner, and delivered up to Hugues. He was then conveyed to a fortress in the city of Laon which as recently as 1818, bore the name of the Tower of Louis d'Outre-mer.†

The queen of France, who was Otho's sister, now appealed to that monarch for aid. She promised, in the name and by the authority of Lud-wig, to cede to Otho several French provinces, and among others Lorraine, provided he would deliver the kingdom

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\* *Chronique de FRODOARD.*

† This tower has, we believe, been since pulled down.

from the hands, of the national party.\* Eren-hulf, Count of Flanders, was charged with this mission.

Otho assented to the proposal ; and having united to his standard Conrad, King of Cisalpine-Gaul, he assembled an army consisting of thirty-two legions, and marched to Rheims.† The national party, overawed by this display of strength, and unable to rely on the country which was divided by conflicting interests, dared not risk a battle. Hugues and his followers therefore abandoned the city of Laon, left the captive King behind them, and retreated into Normandy. The combined forces under Otho and Conrad, now invaded that duchy, where, by his concessions, Karl-le-Simple had formerly hoped to create for himself and his posterity, devoted and perpetual allies.

Lud-wig was, indeed, re-established on his throne by the intervention of Otho. But no sooner had that monarch and his colleague withdrawn their troops and returned home, than Hugues issued from Normandy with a stronger force than he had ever before

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\* Timens (Ludovicus) ne eorum conatu deponeretur à culmine regni, misit Arnulphum Flandrensem, ad Othonem, trans-rhenanum regem, mandans quoniam, si Hugonem magnum omnino contereret, et normannicam terram suo domino subjeceret procul dubio Lothariense regnum ei contraderet.— *Scrip. rer. franc.*

† AUGUSTIN THIERRY.

commanded : for the Norman lords, indignant at the German invasion of their territory, and having suffered much from it, joined at once the national standard, for the purpose of retaliating on Lud-wig the evils they had suffered at the hands of his friends and in his behalf. Lud-wig, dismayed at these formidable demonstrations, fled across the Rhine, and a second time sought aid from Otho.\*

Otho convened a council at Treves, and ordered Hugues to be excommunicated ; a mode of attack which he now found to be much more convenient and less perilous than a resort to arms.† As this was the only assistance that Lud-wig received from the German King upon this occasion, he found himself obliged to return to Laon, the only strong-hold in the kingdom that remained faithful to him. He was killed shortly afterward, in a manner equally odd and unexpected.

He had taken a disgust at Laon, as a residence, from one of his sons' having died there ; and he quit-

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\* Rex Ludovicus deprecatur regem Othonem, ut subsidium sibi ferat contra Hugonem et cæteros inimicos suos. — *Scrip. rer. franc.*

† Finally, the third day, and after the earnest demand of Luid-hulf, envoy and chaplain of King Otho, — for such was his master's pleasure — Count Hugues was, for all the crimes that he had committed, excommunicated until he should come to repentance. — *Chronique de FRODOARD.*

ted it for Rheims, which was under the government of the prelate Artaud, one of the warmest partizans of the Frank dynasty. As he approached the city, a wolf suddenly crossed the road and the King started in pursuit of it. He essayed to leap a ditch, but his horse stumbled and he was thrown forward violently to the ground. His attendants conveyed him to the bishop's castle, where he expired in the thirty-third year of his age, A. D. 954, leaving two sons, Lot-her, thirteen years old, and Karl, still in the cradle.

Gerberge, widow of the deceased King, well knew that she was now in the power of Hugues; but, determining to anticipate any hostile movement on his part, she despatched ambassadors to declare to him that to his loyalty she confided her own interests and those of her two sons.\* Hugues was thus incited to generosity, and caused Lot-her to be crowned at St. Remy.

Unquestionably, Hugues—before sacrificing the interests of the party whose representative he was, to one of those sentiments of the heart to which no political leader has a right to yield—persuaded himself that Lot-her, at the age of thirteen, could be

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\* The queen Gerberge sent ambassadors to Hugues, imploring counsel and assistance; he invited her to come to him, comforted her, and promised that her son should enter into possession of the kingdom. — *Chronique de FRODOARD*.

King only in name. And, in fact, all the affairs of the government were soon under his own control.

Having now attained the summit of power, possessed the highest dignities, and acquired the titles of Duke of France, of Burgundy, and of Aquitania,\* Hugues expired at Dourdan, A. D. 956. For twenty years he had almost shared the royal authority with Lud-wig. He was surnamed the *great*, on account of his height ; the *white*, for his complexion ; the *prince*, for his power ; and the *abbé*, because St. Germain-des-Près and St. Martin-de-Tours belonged to him. He left three sons, of whom the eldest inherited the title of Duke of France and the guardianship of the young King.

This son was Hugues Capet — or *Chapet*,† as it is written in the Romance language — (*Hugh Capet*). Hugues, in whom all the hopes of the national party were concentrated, desired to perfect a lasting alliance between himself and Rik-hard, Duke of Normandy. He therefore offered to the Duke the hand of his sister in marriage, which was accepted — a judicious and timely precaution, tending to strengthen his authority ; for Otho II., having some time after succeeded his father, was proclaimed Emperor of Germany ; and he, being the hereditary foe of the

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\* These last two provinces were ceded to him by the young prince.

† AUGUSTIN THIERRY.

French national party, now became an object of great concern to that party, by reason of such an accession of influence and power.

Hugues, after much argument, convinced the King that the true source of his strength lay in the nation, and not in foreign influence. He also repeatedly demonstrated to him the fact that Lorraine ought never to be an independent kingdom, but only a province of France. Moved by his suggestions on this latter subject, Lot-her determined to wrest that territory from the Emperor. He assembled his army and entered Lorraine with so much impetuosity that the Emperor was nearly surprised by him in his palace at Aix-la-Chapelle.\* Otho made good his escape, however, and fled to Germany; where, collecting an army of sixty thousand men, he marched to repel the invaders. Lot-her, in turn, unable to resist this force, retreated; and, being closely pursued by Otho, was compelled to maintain a continuous battle during the whole of his backward march to Paris. Otho now established his camp at Montmartre,† where, perceiving his inability to take the city, he nevertheless caused the *Te Deum* to be chaunted in honor of his victory: and the sound of this chaunt, notwithstanding the distance, was distinctly

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\* Chronicles of Raoul Glaber.

† Called *Mons Martis* by Pagan, and *Mons Martyrum* by Christian, writers.



heard by the inhabitants. He also made his entire army, with one voice and in chorus, repeat the line *Alleluia te martyr.*\* After this, he took up his line of march for his own country.

But he was destined to undergo the same trials as the retreating army of Lot-her, with the superadded disadvantage of being pursued in an enemy's country. Hugues and Lot-her issued forth from Paris as he retired from Montmartre; and, hanging upon his rear, they harassed him with incessant attacks in the open country, at the fords of the rivers, at the gorges of the defiles; and when he at length arrived at the frontiers, himself and his troops broken and dispirited, he was apparently on the eve of being annihilated in a pitched battle—but here, to the great discomfiture of Hugues, and the astonishment of the whole French army, Otho obtained a truce from Lot-her.† This truce was followed by a treaty still more surprising; for it yielded Lorraine to the imperial court on the simple condition that it should bear the title of fief, and be held from the crown of

\* Accitis quam pluribus clericis, *alleluia te martyr*, in loco qui dicitur Mons Martyrum, in tantum elatis vocibus decantari præcepit, ut attonitis auribus Hugo et omnis Parisiorum plebs miraretur. — *Script. rer. franc.*

† Pacificatus est Lotharius rex cum Ottone rege, Remis civitate contra voluntatem Hugonis et Hainrici, fratris sui, et contra voluntatem exercitus sui. — *Ibid.*

France.\* This treaty seems incomprehensible to many of our historians who have taken a view different from ours of the decline of the Carolingian race; and who, therefore, do not understand this strange compact that gave *all to the vanquished and nothing to the victors.*†

We shall offer a clear and easy explanation. Lothar had discovered that his real and mortal enemies were the national foes of the Carolingian family, and not the men beyond the Rhine; whom, on the contrary, a common origin and an identity of interests made his natural allies. As he saw, day by day, the ranks of the national party filling up and their hatred to the Frank dynasty constantly increasing, he regretted having yielded to the persuasions of Hugues Capet in declaring war against the only man whose exterior power could, by its protection, counterbalance the continually growing interior power against which he felt it necessary to combat. He remembered that his father, twice dethroned, had twice received succor and protection from the

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\* Dedit Lotharius rex Ottoni regi in beneficio Lothariense regnum; quæ causa magis contristavit corda principum Francorum. — *Script. rer. franc.*

† Lothaire ceded to him Lorraine on condition that he would hold it in fief of the crown of France. Historians uniformly denounce this treaty which gave all to the vanquished, and nothing to the victors but the empty name of sovereign. — VELY.

father of him whom he had just fought with and conquered. Besides, the popularity of Hugues Capet had now reached that point of sympathy with the nation, that he might with impunity attempt a revolt similar to that of Hugues the Great, against which the King would find no support from his nobles, and which the Emperor Otho would be very careful not to suppress, since Lot-her had made so disastrous a war upon him on such slight inducements.

In view of all this, there was no time to be lost. The influence of Hugues was doubled by his valiant defence of Paris and his triumph over the retreating Germans. Upon his return to Laon with an army who scarcely knew the King, but who had learned to appreciate Hugues, the royalty of Lot-her would be nothing more than a problem, which the Duke of France might, at his pleasure, require his sovereign to solve in a cloister. Of whom, then, could Lot-her so naturally ask aid as of the Emperor of Germany, whose family had so frequently proved to the Kings of France that they possessed both the will and the ability to protect them? He therefore seized this opportunity to conclude a peace with Otho that should be as advantageous as a victory and cause him to forget his defeat: a peace which should give him more than the war had taken from him, — a province, in lieu of an army. And what province could so well promote the double political purpose of the King as

the little kingdom of Lorraine, — from the frontiers of which the German army could in three days penetrate to the centre of France?

Henceforward, the national party abandoned all expectation of eradicating by violence this tenacious dynasty which foreign arms had twice reinstated on the throne of France. Hugues continued, however, to withdraw imperceptibly all authority from the crown and retain it in his own hands; and, at the time of the King's death, he had concentrated within himself every attribute of royalty but its title.\* Lothar died at Rheims in the forty-fifth year of his age, and the thirty-second of his reign; after having associated his son Lud-wig (Louis V.) with him on the throne.

Hugues Capet was now the national heir, standing patiently by the bedside of expiring royalty till it should yield up its latest breath. At the end of fifteen months, this desired consummation took place; when occurred the demise of Lud-wig—the last abortion of that mother who had borne Charlemagne. The people, now, regardless of Charles, Duke of Lorraine, uncle to the deceased King, who laid claim to the crown, by universal acclamation called Hugues Capet to the throne. Not, as some historians affirm, because he was

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\* Lotharius rex Franciæ prælatus et solo nomine, Hugo vero, non nomine, sed actu et opere. — GIBERTI EPISTOLÆ.

related to the Carolingian branch through Hildebrand, brother of Karl-le-Martel;\* but, on the contrary, because beyond Rod-bert the Strong his lineage was by no means well defined; and the new nation required for their governor a new man. For, as we have said, there was inveterate hatred between France and the Carolingian race; and the election of Hugues was the triumph of an enterprise commenced long years before—viz., eradicating from the kingdom of France the posterity of the Frank Kings.†

Thus, in a grave contest of a principle against a race, though the strife may be prolonged, the result is never doubtful: it is the wrestling of the angel with Jacob: it may continue for a night or a century; but, in the event, man is always vanquished.

We have expatiated at length on the downfall of this monarchy. We have entered into the details of its decline. We have essayed to declare the causes of a catastrophe, of which other historians have been content to record only the results.‡ And we believe that we have faithfully submitted to the reader the

\* The Duke d'Epéron.

† Hugo-Capet more patrum suorum, odio motus antiquo, genus Caroli cupiens *eradere* de regno Francorum.—*Script. rer. franc.*

‡ M. Augustin Thierry is the first, we think, whose rapid and sure glance has distinguished anything certain in the chaos of the second race.

conflicting interests of the Frank dynasty and the French nation; and, consequently, that we have given, as far as is possible within the narrow limits of a summary, the outline, if not all the scenes, of the Carolingian drama which closes with the death of Ludwig V.

We see, then, our ancestors submitting to the great and inevitable law of progression which, in the overthrow of the Merovingian Kings, consummated a first revolution—a substitution of the power of the Austrasian chieftainship for the royal Neustrian power: a revolution among the victors: a family revolution, in which those who might be supposed to be most interested—the conquered people—were so stupified by defeat as to take no part and give utterance to no opinion.

Under the second race, we see a second revolution; but, this time, its character is changed. It is a revolution of the conquered people against their masters; a struggle of the national party with the German party; a reaction of the power *de jure* against the power *de facto*; a plea, supported by arms, in which the nation demands not, indeed, to govern herself, but to be governed by the man of her own choice.

The third race, in its turn, was destined to develope a third revolution. A revolution of the popular power against the national-monarchical power. A claim of universal rights against the privilege of the

few and the despotism of one. A contest in which royalty was to combat, man to man, with freedom ; not for a change of name, or a substitution of place, but for life itself : a mortal struggle without pity, without mercy ; of which the lists were to be the Place-de-la-Revolution, and the judge, the director of the guillotine.

The Carolingian race ruled for two hundred and thirty-six years : during which time it separated itself into three branches and occupied, independently, the three great thrones that Charlemagne had united under one empire : the throne of Germany, the throne of France, and the throne of Italy — and, what is singular, these three thrones were severally lost under the reigns of three Kings named Lud-wig. The Frank Kings several times changed their places of residence ; and, according to their inclinations, or the force of events, removed the seat of government into various cities. Peppin chose Paris ; Charlemagne and his son, Aix-la-Chapelle and Thionville ; Karl-le-Chauve, Soissons and Compeigne ; Karl-le-Simple, Rheims ; and, finally, Lud-wig-d'Outre-mer and his two sons — the Kings of the civil war — the almost impregnable city of Laon.

Under the Frank monarchy, as its name indicates, the Roman usages gradually disappeared and the kingdom began to display within itself its national characteristics. The form and texture of habiliments were changed. Charlemagne disdained the

chlamyde and the Roman mantle of Hlodo-wig. "He wore," says Eginhard, "the dress of his fathers: next to his skin, a shirt and breeches of linen-cloth; over these, a doublet fastened with a silken girdle, and stockings; his legs were encircled with bands, and his feet shod with sandals. In winter, he wore a coat of otter-skins over his shoulders and breast. He was always covered with the *Sagum* of the Veneti, and the hilt and belt of his sword were of gold and silver: in fact, he sometimes wore a second sword studded with precious stones, but this was only on days of festivity, or when he gave audience to foreign ambassadors. He despised the dress of all other nations however rich it might be. Twice only, during his sojourn at Rome, — first at the entreaty of Pope Adrian, and subsequently at that of Pope Leo — he consented to be arrayed in the long tunic, the chlamyde and Roman hose." Under Charlemagne, the sword was greatly increased in length, and received a baptismal name: his own was called *Joyeuse*, because, war being the element of this still primitive people, the unsheathing of the sword was a signal for rejoicing. Soon after, the conquest of Italy introduced a taste for robes of silk, ornamented with furs brought by the people of the Adriatic from the East. The short mantle of the Gauls was preferred by the conquerors to the consular toga. Toward the commencement of the second



race, the coat of mail, covering the entire body, superseded the antique cuirass which protected only the breast ; and, finally, the vizor was attached to the helmet to protect the face of the warrior.

A semblance of legislation was also established. The *Capitularia* succeeded to the Theodosian Code. Sumptuary laws were promulgated. The trials by combat, fire and the Cross were instituted. By an ordinance of Charlemagne, the first fairs, those of Landy, were introduced into France. And some statutes appended to the *Capitularia* enable us to trace the first levying of imposts to defray the royal expenses by deducting for the sovereign's use one tenth of the profits that the Jews might gain by commerce and one eleventh of the profits gained in the same manner by the Christians. There were also established the duties of passage, pontage, imports and exports, and officers were appointed for collecting these customs.

The games, also, were changed. The chase superseded the combats of men and animals in the circus. Then came the dancers upon ropes, the *jongleurs* with their *vielles* ; and, after them, the *mimes* leading bears and monkeys instructed to imitate grotesquely the ordinary actions of human beings.

A shadow of literature, animated by the foundation of an academy, flitted across this changing scene. The *Romance language*, a mixed dialect composed of

the Latin, Celtic, and Teutonic, was introduced.\* Arithmetic, grammar, and church music were taught in schools; and Charlemagne caused the popular songs of the Franks to be collected together. The Arabs translated the works of Aristotle and Hippocrates; and the nun Rascoïtha compiled a selection of Latin poetry.

The sciences also began timidly to appear. Chemistry was cultivated by the Arabs in the South of France; Lud-wig-le-Debonnaire studied astronomy; and a school of medicine, founded at Salerno in 984, sent some of its students into France.

The currency, too, underwent a change. The coin consisted of livres, sous, and deniers, bearing on one side the effigy of the reigning monarch; and on the reverse, a double or simple cross between an Alpha and Omega — emblems of CHRIST, the beginning and end of all things. The inscription was this Latin device, adopted by Charlemagne — in which is embodied a political revolution; i. e. the abolition of the right of election and the recognition of the divine right — KAROLUS MAGNUS, GRATIA DEI REX.

Under Raoul, the manufacture of hemp-cloth was begun; and, after this first step of national industry,

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\* It will be seen that, at a later day, Rabelais introduced Greek roots into the language.

commerce clung to the soil which she never afterward abandoned.

The political aspect of the realm underwent a still more important modification. A great social reform was effected when the last King of the flowing hair gave place to the first Carolingian monarch. This was a transition from slavery to servitude. It was the first step toward Liberty—a tottering and uncertain step like that of an infant. It was the first halt in that march which led man to unknown countries—countries far beyond the horizon at first embraced by his vision. This transformation commenced under the first race with the relinquishing of grants of property in fief and benefices: a proceeding that introduced the feudal system which established itself under the second race, and was to be perfected under the third with the title of the Great Vassalage. From this period are dated not only the powerful families which constituted the French noblesse, but the aristocratic names that designated those families. The chiefs, receiving lands from the King, sought to magnify the honor implied by these gifts by substituting the territorial titles of the newly acquired property for their Frank names, and adding to these their own baptismal names. Thus, at the outset, they possessed, under the title of chiefs, the land without the name; next, under the title of grand vassals, they possessed the land and the name; and, finally, under the title of aristocrats, they dignified

themselves with the name though no longer possessing the land.

The Church, which we have promised to follow in her representation of the popular interest, reached, under the second race, her highest degree of power, and forced the usurpation to pay dearly for the oil poured on its head. The Popes applied to temporal purposes that power to bind and loose which they had received for spiritual uses only. But the first encroachments of pontifical supremacy were made in a republican spirit: for when, in process of time, the sons of those who had granted domains to communities — which communities, be it remembered, were the people — occasionally determined to take back a part or all of the domains so granted; a complaint was preferred by the monk to the abbé, by the abbé to the bishop, and by the bishop to the Pope. Whereupon, His Holiness summoned the King or the usurping chief *to render to the people the things that were the people's*; in imitation of our SAVIOUR's direction, "Render unto Cæsar the things which be Cæsar's." If the spoiler refused obedience to the mandate, excommunication, with its spiritual terrors, took the place of temporal authority which, at this period, was imperfectly or feebly vested in the Holy See. The following formula was adopted on these occasions:

"Concerning the usurpers of ecclesiastical property — whom the sacred Canons, inspired by the

HOLY GHOST and consecrated by the world's veneration, as also the decrees of the Pontiff of the Apostolic See, declare worthy to remain under anathema until they have made full restitution; and concerning extortioners who, according to the declaration of the Apostle, speaking in CHRIST's name, shall not inherit the kingdom of God — we do hereby interdict all true Christians from eating with such men while they persevere in their crime. And we decree, by virtue of the authority of CHRIST, and of these presents consecrated by such authority, that if, before the approaching convocation of November, they shall not have restored to the Church the property belonging to it and by them unjustly seized, they be then separated from the communion of the body and blood of CHRIST, and continue so separated and excluded until they shall make full restitution of such ecclesiastical possessions and complete reparation for their unlawful trespass upon the same. And this, and all this, do we now decree and publish, to the effect that, according to the words of the most excellent preacher, the bodies of such offenders may be delivered unto Satan for the saving of their spirits in the day of the Lord Jesus.”\*

These demonstrations of the extent of the Church's power excited the Pope to tyranny and the priest-

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\* The conclusion of this formula is the same as was employed by St. Paul; 1. Corinthians, v. 5.

hood to arrogance. The sovereign pontiff made and unmade Kings. The bishops took precedence of the nobles, were named before them in diplomas, and affixed their signatures next to that of the King. They had *droit de justice* as princes; they coined money as sovereigns; levied taxes and soldiers as conquerors; and joined invaded territory to territories conceded, and conquests to benefices. In fact the Rome of Stephen III. became a counterpart of the Rome of Augustus; and the city on seven hills still vindicated its claim to the proud title of the Eternal City. We shall see that it declined under the third race: beginning to lose influence as it gradually changed its democratic to an aristocratic policy and espoused the cause of royalty against the cause of the people.

The nobles, on their part, took advantage of the troubles that distracted the heirs of Charlemagne to withdraw from the royal influence: they availed themselves of the weakness of Lud-wig-le-Debonnaire, the imbecility of Karl-le-Simple and the captivity of Lud-wig-d'Outre-mer, to escape the bonds of their feudal allegiance. The sons of those who had received domains from royal munificence regarded the grants as made from interested motives and not from a principle of generosity. They averred that if their fathers had chosen to take unauthorized possession of the property, the sovereign, occupied by civil and foreign wars, would have been

unable to avenge himself for the spoliation. All sentiment of gratitude toward the power that bestowed these lands was now obliterated from the minds of the nobility, as the same sentiment had disappeared from the remembrance of the Kings in regard to the nobility who originally elevated them to the throne. Charlemagne declared himself to be King by *the Grace of God*; and scarce a century elapsed before the nobles, refusing to hold their possessions and titles from the crown, resolved themselves into Counts and Marquises by the Grace of God.

As to the alleged dismemberment of the Empire, to which all historians have attributed the rapid fall of the Carolingian dynasty, but of which fall we believe that we have exhibited the *true* causes—as to the supposed dismemberment, we repeat, historians have been led into error, because, in accounting for the fall of the dynasty, they have sought after accidental and political causes, and overlooked those that were natural and territorial.\*

An illustration altogether material will, we hope,

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\* We beg the reader's permission, enlightened as we are by the masterly discussion of Augustin Thierry, to present the dismemberment in its true light, and to discredit the false view under which Montesquieu himself, and so many who followed him, have considered it.

render quite intelligible to all, the idea we have conceived of the dismemberment of a single great empire into nine distinct kingdoms.

Perhaps some of our readers have been in Switzerland, and ascended to the summit of Mount Righi. From the culminating point of this mountain, they discovered nine lakes enclosed in the basins fashioned for them by the hand of God. Each one of these lakes, separated from its neighbors by the swell of ground that constitutes its border, differs from all the rest in the form of its shores and the color of its waters. Suppose, now, that from the snowy summit of Mount Pilate, one of those masses of ice, which in that country of cones and pinnacles is a fragment, but would be, to us, a mountain—should be precipitated into the largest of these lakes. It would at once displace an immense volume of water ; this water would overflow the shores of the lake, and the inundation would spread from valley to valley, till all the intermediate ground was submerged, and the nine lakes had become one.

This immense lake, on the day following the disruption of the avalanche, would seem to have been so created in the beginning of time ; although, in fact, it had assumed its present form only since yesterday. It would be a kind of ocean, apparently of uniform depth throughout, but which at certain spots did in truth scarcely cover the surface of the earth : an immeasurable sheet of water of uniform hue upon its



surface, but retaining in its depths its primitive variety of shade.

Let a traveller, ignorant of these precedent facts, now stand upon Mount Righi ; let him not be told, "there were formerly nine lakes, but an accident has united them in one," and assuredly he will see but one, and will testify that there is but one.

Nevertheless, by the joint action of the water and the air, the block of ice diminishes in size ; though, while it remains, it continues to feed by its liquefaction the overflow caused by its gravitation. At length, it resolves itself into its original element and disappears.

The lake, having now lost the aliment that sustained its unnatural proportions, begins to decrease. The more elevated points of ground appear upon the surface ; the earth rises and the flood retires. On the disappearance of the cause that disturbed the harmony, harmony revives. The waters slowly subside into their natural limits, and the nine lakes at length re-appear, differing, as before, in color and form.

*Now* place the same traveller on the summit of Mount Righi ; let him count the lakes ; and ask him the causes of the change : he will give you all but the true one !

Thus was it with the dominions of Charlemagne : a heterogeneous empire, to which, however, conquest gave the appearance of homogeneity : an ocean of men

who, judging by the surface, composed one nation ; while a hardy diver, plunging into its depths, might discover various races, opposite customs, and nine languages : a sheet of water, the expanse of which was restricted only by colossal boundaries, the intermediate ones being overwhelmed by the tide.

But when the hand that grasped these nations was frozen in death ; when the genius that controlled them had departed ; when the source of this warlike inundation was dried up ; the Franks retired like the straying waters of the flood. The boundaries of the kingdoms, submerged by the empire, re-appeared. Each nation rested in its own valley ; each man returned to the home where his language, habits and manners invited him. It is true, the sons of a common father continued for a time, to reign over these divided nations ; but the King here adopted the usages of his subjects without seeking to impose his own upon them : and these Kings, from having been Franks, became Italian, German, Burgundian, according as chance impelled them to the throne of Italy, Germany, or Burgundy. They declared war according to the exigencies of those over whom they reigned, against those who reigned around them, and took small pains to ascertain the degree of consanguinity by which they were originally united. They cared not for the reproach of unnatural brother, or ungrateful son, so long as they preserved the title of King.

So have we seen, in our own time, the hand of a man of genius seize from the fields of modern Europe, an empire like that of Charlemagne. The brothers of this man became the royal prefects, whom he installed in the countries that he vanquished : the capitals of which were, severally, the manor-houses or country seats of these new departments of France. For a time, one hundred and twenty millions of men were submissive to this Emperor's commands. For a time he heard, in nine different idioms, the shouts "Vive Napoleon ! Napoleon the Great !" For he, also, like the avalanche, had caused France to overflow ; and the inundation had submerged continental Europe.

When the man who raised the flood-gates of conquest had fallen, did we not see each nation subsiding to its own place—each chief town of the department becoming a capital ? Have we not seen—to push the comparison to its termination—the brothers and generals of this man become Italians or Swedes ; adopting the cause of their people against that of their country ; marching at the head of foreign soldiers against France, their mother ; and, in order to preserve the title of King, receiving and meriting the reproach of unnatural brothers and ungrateful sons ?



PART THIRD.

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FRANCE.

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THE NATIONAL RACE.

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THE FRENCH MONARCHY.



## HUGH CAPE'T.

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THE care with which we have detailed the contest between the national party and the Frank dynasty, under the second race, renders it unnecessary for us to combat the opinion—as radically false as it is generally received—that the accession of Hugh Capet to the throne was an act of usurpation. The Duke of Paris was unanimously elected to the sovereign dignity by the unbought vote of his peers:\* a vote which was nothing less than a faithful echo of the whole people's choice.

But the France over which he was called to reign was no longer the realm of Charlemagne. The very existence of peers—a title which we have now, for the first time, pronounced—demonstrates that the King was merely at the head of his equals. And although France still extended from the Meuse and

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\* Nec iste Hugo, regni invasor aut usurpator aliququaliter est indicandus quem regni proceres elegerunt. — NANGIS.

the Scheldt to the Ebro, and from the shores of the Rhone to those of the Ocean, we shall discover that he who bore the name of its sovereign possessed but the smallest portion of this vast territory.

There were seven of these peers—though Hugh afterward increased the number to twelve; and this latter number was unchanged until the time of Froissard, who styles them the twelve brothers of the kingdom. These seven peers possessed the following portions of the realm; and what remained belonged to the King.

I. Eren-hulf, or Arnulph II., Count of Flanders, was master of the territory lying between the Scheldt, the Somme and the sea :

II. Here-bert or Herbert, Count of Vermandois : whose possessions were, the county of Senlis, a portion of the Isle of France, and a portion, also, of Picardy and Champagne :

III. Hein-rick, or Henry, (brother of Hugh Capet) Duke of Burgundy : who occupied all that portion of the duchy of Burgundy that was not tributary to the domains of Conrad the Pacific :

IV. Rik-hard or Richard (brother-in-law of Hugh Capet,) Duke of Normandy and Brittany. His possessions have already been specified (see page 132) in the detail of the concession of Karl-le-Simple to Hrolf the Dane, the same forming the most powerful vassalage in the kingdom. Moreover the Dukes of Normandy claimed to be free from the obligation of



furnishing troops to the Kings of France; and they were sufficiently wealthy to keep their masters in pay :

V. Wil-helm, or William, Sancho, Duke of Gascony, commanded the whole extent of country between the Dordogne, the Garonne, the Pyrenees, and the two seas. But this dominion soon after became an *arrière-fief*, and passed under direct seignorage to the Dukes of Guyenne :

VI. Raymond, Count of Toulouse; who to the country of that name, joined the principality of Languedoc and the Duchy of Septimanie. At a later period, a descendant of this Count became one of the most powerful feudatories of the crown, under the title of Duke of Narbonne :

VII. And, lastly, Wil-helm of William,\* sur-named *Fier-à-bras*, Duke of Guyenne, or Aquitania, whose fief would have been the largest of the realm, had he been able to keep it entire under his own control. But, in the midst of the general confusion, the lords of Bourbon, the Dukes of Auvergne, and the Counts of Bourges, Angoulême, La Marche and Perigord formed to themselves, severally, independent establishments in the Duchy, and held their

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\* We shall now find proper names undergoing a third transformation and taking the orthography that they have retained to the present day.

possessions by a right of ownership and with scarcely any feudal tenure.

After these partitions, there would have remained to the King of France nothing but a part of Soissonois, the city of Laon, and some towns of Champagne, if Hugh Capet, in ascending the throne, had not added to these, certain disjointed parcels of territory which were his own individual property, viz., the county of Paris, the Orléanais, the Chartrain country, Perche, the county of Blois, Touraine, Anjou and Maine.

But Hugh Capet was scarcely seated on the throne ere, like Peppin-le-Bref, he abrogated the principle to which he owed his elevation, and sacrificed the secular to the spiritual authority, by causing, in his own life-time, his son Robert to be consecrated King of France. This example, followed successively by Henry I., Philip, Louis VI., and Louis VII., secured to the dynasty an hereditary sovereignty of eight centuries; which strengthened, from its commencement, the right of primogeniture, as established by an ordinance of 993. This instrument declared that henceforward the title of King shall be given to the eldest son only, and he shall have precedence and authority over his brothers, who are to venerate him as their lord and father, and are to have no other portion than the lands he shall assign them in appanage; these lands shall be held of the crown, to which the brothers owe homage,

and shall be augmented or diminished according to the good pleasure of the King.\*

From the example of Peppin and from his own experience, Hugh had learned that the office of Mayor of the Palace and Duke of Paris was dangerous to the sovereignty; as it concentrated, in the hands of one vassal, powers almost regal. He therefore determined to abolish the office; but he was too prudent to avow his motives. He called an assembly of the peers and declared to them that, holding all in equal regard, being equally grateful to all, appreciating equally the rights of all, and not wishing to sow dissension among them by advancing one of their number to a station which he sincerely wished he could grant to all in common, as all were equally worthy—he intended to bestow the office, in their name, on his son, whom France had educated and nourished for her service, and whom he would constitute their representative. He thus confiscated to his own advantage a dignity which, entrusted to other hands than those of his heir, might be a bar to his ambition; “and, therefore,” says Jean de Serre, “he put an end to it, but gave it a gilded sepulchre, burying it in the royal family. He created in its place the office of Constable, which, embracing less power, was proportionably less dangerous.”

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\* Jean de Serre.

The hereditary principle, which in our time, we regard as pernicious, because it perpetuates itself in the midst of a society already organized, was necessary, in the times of which we write, to consolidate a society yet in its growth. The son, by inheriting the throne, was enabled to follow out the paternal idea and perfect the feudal system, which determined the hierarchical organization of the turbulent lords,—who were always ready to cut down the tree before it could yield its fruit. By losing the right to create, the lords lost also the power to destroy. Royalty was no longer forced to call on the spiritual authority of the Popes to combat the temporal power of the lords; and the blow that struck the noblesse, reached also the Church, in its recoil. From the moment that the monarchy became hereditary, it became independent of the two influences from which, until then, it had been constrained alternately to invoke assistance; and being no longer under the necessity of conceding to the one in order to obtain aid from the other, it was enabled to maintain the balance between both and preserve the supremacy.

The feudal organization, thus established, created manners and customs, consolidated institutions, and gave us great men and great events, great names and great mementoes: it was contemporary with the birth of chivalry—the Crusades—and the enfranchisement of the Communes. This was the heroic age of France.

The exposition we have given of the results, renders it unnecessary to give a detail of the acts, of Hugh Capet's reign. We shall merely state that, under him, Paris became once more the capital of the realm: a prerogative that she lost under the second race, but preserved under the third.

Hugh died in the year 996. His son, Robert, succeeded to the throne. He had been previously consecrated at Rheims, (in 990,) and, with the permission of the French prelates, had married his kinswoman, Bertha.\* For this act, he was excommunicated by the Pope; but, for a time, he struggled against the interdict. The Pope next placed the whole kingdom under ban. The Church immediately discontinued divine worship; refused to administer the sacraments and to bury the dead in holy ground. The King's household at length abandoned him with the exception of two faithful domestics; and even they threw into the fire every thing contaminated by his use.

Robert was forced to submit; for the desertion of the nobles and the murmurs of the populace made him fearful of a general revolt. The Capetian

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\* She was the widow of Eudes, Count of Chartres and of Blois, and daughter of Conrad, King of Burgundy. The two incentives to the excommunication promulgated by Pope Gregory were, that Robert had held at the baptismal font a child of Bertha by a former marriage; and, that Robert and Bertha were cousins in the fourth degree. — DUCHESNE, vol. iv. p. 85.

dynasty was not yet deeply rooted in the soil, and the slightest tempest might upturn it. Bertha was repudiated in 997, bearing with her the poor consolation of the title of queen, which she retained until her death.

Constance, daughter of the Count of Provence, was her successor. She was young and beautiful, capricious and haughty. Born in a voluptuous climate, nourished under a southern sun, imbued with the customs and the oriental literature with which the Arabs had embellished Spain and Languedoc—she and her suite formed a singular contrast to the frigid forms of the French court. A taste for poetry began soon to prevail,—a common, national, maternal poetry. The language, also, was changed: it was divided into two idioms; that of the North and that of the South: the *langue d'Oïl*, adopted by the trouvères; and the *langue d'Oc*, by the troubadours. Guy d'Arezzo invented the six musical notes.\* Harmony succeeded to Psalmody; the national song to the Latin hymn; and France, now, possessed a literature of her own.†

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\* Ut, ré, mi, fa, sol, la. It was not until about one hundred and fifty years after, that *si* was imagined by a Frenchman named Lemaire.

† This change was considered by contemporaneous authors as a calamity, permitted by heaven to visit the nation on account of its sins. Raoul Glaber thus speaks of it: "We deem it right to relate, at the close of this third volume, the vengeance by which

It was a new, sonorous, and brilliant literature, that borrowed nothing from other nations, but drew all its treasures from its own resources; and it became, like all primitive literature, the history of the people who invented it.

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the LORD, the author of all good, caused human kind to expiate its guilt and insolence. About the year 1000 of the Incarnation, when King Robert had espoused Constance, princess of Aquitania, the indulgence of the queen opened the gates of France and Burgundy to the natives of Aquitania and Auvergne. These vain and frivolous men were as foppish in their manners as in their dress. Their arms and the trappings of their horses were equally neglected: their hair scarcely covered the half of their heads: they shaved off their beards like the jongleurs, and wore boots that were unseemly. Alas! the Franks (formerly so virtuous) and the rude people of Burgundy soon imitated these criminal examples and faithfully reflected all the perversity and infamy of their models. If a priest, or a man loving and fearing God, ventured to reprove such conduct, his zeal was treated as folly. Nevertheless, father William, setting aside all vain human respect, and giving himself up to the promptings of the Holy Spirit, sharply rebuked the king and queen for tolerating such indignities in their realm — a realm renowned above all others for its attachment to honor and religion. At the same time, he addressed such eloquent and severe reproaches to the nobles of inferior rank, that some few renounced the new fashions and returned to their former innocence of life. The holy man plainly saw the finger of Satan in these innovations; and was convinced that a person interred with this livery of the devil, could never get rid of it to all eternity. Notwithstanding, these pernicious customs were adopted by the greater number; seeing which, I have directed against them the following heroic verses: —

While this literary revolution was occupying general attention, the political revolution was consolidating itself.

The king disallowed the right of his uncle, Henry of Burgundy (who died without issue) to bequeath

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[This extract is given in English literally and line for line : it does not seem worth the labor of paraphrase or versification, as, in the original, it possesses no claim to the ambitious distinction of *poetry*, beyond the fact of being divided into irregular lines, (without rhymes) each of which commences with a capital letter.]

“A thousand years after the Virgin had given our LORD to  
the world

Men precipitated themselves into the most dreadful errors.

Yielding to the fascination of change,

We purpose to regulate our manners after the new mode,  
And this imprudent fondness for novelty drags us into  
the midst of dangers.

Past centuries are to ours but objects of ridicule;

A mixture of frivolity and turpitude corrupts our manners;

The minds of men have lost all taste for what is serious and  
have no shame of vice;

Honor and justice, the guide of good men, have no longer  
any value.

The fashion of the day serves to form disfigured tyrants

With clipped garments, whose honesty in contracts is  
equivocal.

The degenerate republic sees these effeminate manners with  
trembling.

Fraud, violence, all crimes dispute for the universe;

The saints no longer receive homage; religion is no more  
venerated.



his duchy to Otho William, son of his duchess by a previous marriage : and Robert invaded Burgundy, and, after a five years' war, subdued it and gave it to Prince Henry, his second son.

On his return to Paris, he was apprized of the rise of a new sect in his dominions that rejected the mysteries and sacraments. At the head of this sect were, Stephen, the queen's confessor, and Lisoie, prebendary of St. Croix d'Orléans. A council was called in that city to try the heretics, and it condemned them to be burned. The king and queen were present at the infliction of the punishment, and the latter, with a rod that she carried in her hand, put out the eye of her former confessor. It was to this execution, more than to the Latin hymns he composed, that Robert was indebted for the surname, Pious.

About this time, some Normans who were returning from a pilgrimage to the Holy Land, arrived at

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Here, the ravages of the sword, there, famine and pestilence  
Cannot reform men from their errors, nor wean them from  
their impiety ;

And if the goodness of the ALMIGHTY did not suspend His  
just anger,

Hell, ere this, had ingulphed them all in its bottomless abyss.  
Such is the power of this wretched habit of sinning ;

The more faults one commits, the less he fears to commit  
them again ;

The less he is guilty, the more he dreads to become so."

the principality of Salerno as the Saracens were besieging its capital. They threw themselves into the place and conducted its defence so valiantly, that the Mahomedans were forced to raise the siege. On their return to Normandy, these pilgrims recounted their exploits and told of the generous recompense they had received from the prince they had delivered. This excited in the adventurous spirits of their compatriots a desire of seeking their fortune in the same quarter. One of these, named Osmon Drogon, constrained to flee his country for having slain a noble, set forth, accompanied by his four brothers, and offered his services to the Prince of Capua. He obtained permission to lay the foundation of a city, and he was speedily joined by Tancred d'Hauteville and his twelve sons—all warriors and all armed. They at first repelled the Saracens; then, the Greeks; and afterward, the Popes. Sicily was thus won from the powers that disputed for its possession, and a new monarchy arose, of which Roger, son of Tancred, was the first King. His son, Roger II., succeeded him, and made himself master of Naples; and the sceptre remained with his descendants until the Emperors of the house of Suabia wrested it from one of them, whom Charles of France, brother of St. Louis, and Count of Provence and Anjou, afterward avenged.

While these extraordinary events were in progress, Robert, having appeased some troubles in

France, associated his son Hugh with himself on the throne, in the year 1007. He caused him to be recognised at Compeigne, in a general assembly of the nation; and, from that period, the name of Hugh figures in all the public acts after the name of the King, his father.\*

From this time, the peace of France was disturbed only by domestic discord caused by Hugh, who was dissatisfied at the influence Constance exercised over his father, and at her harshness toward himself. But these contentions were appeased, and he continued to share the throne until his death; an event that was much regretted by the nation.

Robert now associated with himself Henry, his second son, whom he had previously made Duke of Burgundy. Constance was desirous that her third son, Robert, should be preferred to this distinction; and being disappointed in her wishes, she excited Robert to a revolt; but this was easily suppressed by the King; and Burgundy, deprived of its Duke, was united to the crown. This union was the first blow aimed at the system of the great vassalage.

A last attempt was made against the King at Compeigne. Twelve conspirators had bound themselves by oath to compass his assassination; but Robert, having discovered their plot, caused them all to be arrested. While the judges were conducting their

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\* HELGALD, *Roberti vita*.

trial, the King ordered the culprits to be prepared by penance for the sacrament. After the rite had been administered, he invited them to dine with him ; and the judge who brought their sentence for his signature, found him at the same table with the traitors. It is needless to say that the sentence was cancelled.\*

Soon after this, the king fell ill and died at Melun, in the sixty-first year of his age, and the forty-fifth of his reign.

He was a mild and amiable prince ; just such an one as was necessary to growing France,† after the reign of an energetic prince. He every day gave food to three hundred persons ; and, on some days, the number was increased to a thousand.

On Maundy-Thursday, he put on a dress of hair-cloth, served the mendicants on his knees, and washed their feet. He established the custom, adopted by his successors, of periodically washing the feet of twelve poor people and serving them at table with the princes and nobles of the court. When he had no money to bestow in alms, he suffered himself to

\* They were tried and condemned, and there were against them as many sentences of death as there were men. — HELGALD.

† He was of tall stature, with soft, well arranged hair, modest eyes, mouth agreeable and sweet to give the kiss of peace, beard sufficiently full, and shoulders high. When he mounted his royal steed — wonderful thing ! — his toes almost touched his heels ;\*\* which was considered a great marvel by those who witnessed it. — HELGALD, *vita Roberti*.

\*\* “ Les doigts de ses pieds rejoignaient presque le talon.”

be robbed by the mendicants. Helgald relates an anecdote of a thief, named Rapaton, who knelt behind the King in church, and, while he was praying, cut off a part of the golden fringe that ornamented his mantle. Rapaton, thinking the King had not perceived his theft, prepared to steal the remainder of the fringe; but Robert turned round, saying mildly, "Desist, my friend; you have enough for your present exigencies: what is left may be serviceable to your companions."

The prerogative of curing the king's evil by making the sign of the cross on the diseased part, was first exercised by Robert.

Henry I. succeeded his father in 1031. He was scarcely seated on the throne when his mother Constance — always purposing to place the crown on the head of her favorite son, Robert — incited Baldwin, Count of Flanders, and Eudes II., Count of Champagne, to revolt; and persuaded, also, Dammartin, Senlis, Poissy, Sens, Coucy and Puyset to declare in Robert's favor. These were more than one half of the strongholds of the Duchy of France, which, since Hugh united it to the crown, had always been the patrimony of the Kings. Henry was forced to quit Paris, with but twelve followers, and to take refuge at Fecamp with Robert II., Duke of Normandy, whose harshness obtained for him the appellation of Robert-le-Diable.\*

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\* GLABERT, frag. hist. m. s., apud Duches.

The vassal gave an army to his King, and the King recovered his crown. The death of Constance, in 1032, restored tranquillity. Robert submitted to his brother, who pardoned him and ceded to him the Duchy of Burgundy, over which this royal branch ruled for nearly four centuries.\*

Shortly after, Eudes, a younger brother of the King, rebelled against his authority. William, the natural son of Robert-le-Diable, assisted the King to suppress this rebellion : and in turn, Henry aided William to maintain himself in the Duchy of Normandy,—his claim to the Duchy having been contested on the death of Robert-le-Diable, who expired at Nicæa on his return from a pilgrimage to Jerusalem.

The remainder of Henry's reign was spent in pacifying quarrels of heresy ; instituting the first military laws of the tourney ; establishing the so-called Truce of God, or the LORD, which prohibited combat, pillage and bloodshed from Wednesday to Saturday. He associated with himself on the throne his eldest son Philip, and caused him to be consecrated on the day of Pentecost, A. D. 1059, although he was but seven years old. In 1060 Henry died suddenly of a *medicine taken injudiciously*, in the fifty-fifth year of his age and the thirtieth of his reign.

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\* No longer under the title of grand vassal, but holding it as an appanage.

This was the first King of the realm named Henry — a name fatal to all sovereigns who have borne it in France. Henry I. was, as we see, probably poisoned. Henry II. was killed in a tournament by Montgomery. Henry III. was assassinated by Jacques Clément. Henry IV. was stabbed by Ravallac. And Henry V., born an orphan, lives in exile, between the tomb of his father and the prison of his mother;\* a helpless child, doomed to expiate the faults of a race; an unresisting innocent taken for sacrifice in place of the guilty; a victim, immolated between defunct royalty and an unborn republic, in honor of that strange goddess 'yclept *Transition*.

The reigns of Henry I. and of his son Philip I., both of which were long† and peaceful,‡ were most opportune for the still young and feeble kingdom of France. They were the fostering reigns during which those great events were germinated that soon afterward appeared above the surface of the soil. They prepared the way for the middle age, so imperfectly understood even in our day—an age of iron; of venturous heads, of mighty arms and pious hearts. The

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\* Whenever these references to the present day occur, the reader must bear in mind that M. Dumas's work was published, originally, in 1833.

† Together, sixty years.

‡ The reign of Henry passed amid disturbances too slight to agitate the body of the realm. — JEAN DE SERRE.

nation, therefore, remained quiescent, for she was about to bring forth something greater than the past revolutions : she was about to give birth to *the people*—the source of all future revolutions.\*

We shall therefore narrate, not the reign of Philip, but the prominent events that took place during his reign ; a reign among the longest, and by its results, the most important of the monarchy.† Philip was one of those men who appear great by reason of the optical illusion through the medium of which their acts are viewed : one of those men who, like Francis I., are deemed to be the fathers of an age, when in reality they are but its *accoucheurs*.

Indeed, three principal events, any one of which would have sufficed to render an ordinary reign famous—so spontaneously and unexpectedly did they arise and so immense and influential were their results—occurred during the reign of Philip.

The first of these events was the conquest of Great Britain by Wilhelm, or William,‡ who,

\* Under the first race, in the bosom of the Church and under a religious form, we saw this same people whom we shall now see, in the arms of the nation, under a civil form. It is a transformation and nothing more. The people who entered into their chrysalis state with the robe of the priest, will emerge from it with the roundabout of the *bourgeois*.

† It continued forty-eight years : from 1060 till 1108.

‡ The minutest details of this great event have become familiar since they have found a great historian to narrate them. Now



thereupon, assumed the name of the Conqueror, and became King of England.

The second was the enterprise of the Crusades, under the conduct of Godfrey de Bouillon, who became King of Jerusalem.

The third was the rebellion of the first Commune,\* in the midst of which was born the French people, who became King of the world.

We will not say that the first two of these events were the inducing causes of the last; but we will essay to prove, by relating them in the order of their occurrence, that they had a great influence upon it.

In the year 1066, Edward, King of England, sur-named the Confessor, died without issue of his marriage with Edith. His death occasioned great confusion and troubles in the kingdom, which the election of Harold, son of Godwin, Count of Kent, could not quell. Under these circumstances, William the Bastard cast an eye upon England, and

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that M. THIERRY's reputation is established, it is somewhat late for us to repeat what so many have said before us, — that he appears to be the only historian who unites in so high a degree the faithfulness of investigation, the knowledge of causes, the clearness of narration, the strength of style and the truth of details. Nevertheless, late though it be, we could not resist the desire of expressing our admiration; which the public and he will regard as the more sincere, since we know him only by his works.

\* Cambrai.

conceived the hope of becoming its sovereign. He assembled, for his enterprise, an army of adventurous, brave, robust, indefatigable, and penniless men, who had nothing to lose and everything to gain. Seventy vessels were anchored in the port of St. Valéry; one hundred and fifty thousand men embarked in them, and the fleet put to sea.\*

A strange spectacle now presented itself: an army on its way to subdue a nation; a petty Duke setting forth to pluck a crown from the head of a King. Doubtless, that nation and that King for a time regarded the invasion as a dream; nor did either awake to a sober sense of its reality, until the nation was subjugated, and the King lay prostrate and dying on the field of Hastings.

The battle continued for eight hours only; but sixty-eight thousand men were left dead upon the field.

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\* Edward of England, having no sons, adopted William the Bastard and bequeathed to him his kingdom. On his decease a certain English Count, named Harold, seized the crown. Whereupon the said William assembled a considerable army and made sail for England with seventy vessels. Harold, learning that the said William had entered into England, marched against him in great force; but, in the battle, Harold was vanquished and slain. William's army consisted of a hundred and fifty thousand men. After the victory, he marched toward London, where he was received and crowned on the day of our SAVIOUR's birth.—HUGUES DE FLEURY.

William ascended the throne of Harold ; and the young King of France, on receiving his kingdom from the hands of Baldwin, his regent, learned with dismay that he had a king-vassal more powerful than himself. It was a terror of instinct; a presentiment of evil which eighteen years afterward was to be justified by a reality—by the first ravages of a war between these two sisters, France and England, who were too handsome, too jealous, and too near neighbors, to continue friends. The war was born of a joke,\* but it lasted for eight centuries; it was a war of extermination, as are all family wars; an interminable series of combats, discontinued by truces, but never by a peace; a struggle in which France, like Antæus, always rose again, but always after having touched the ground.

We will now consider the Crusades and their causes.

While the Persians and Egyptians maintained the

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\* King William having become very fat, had for a time kept his bed. Philip one day laughingly inquired, when he was to be brought to bed of his big belly? William sent answer "that he could not fix with precision the day of his delivery, but the King of France should have the earliest information, since it was his intention to be churched at St. Genevieve de Paris, with ten thousand lances in the guise of tapers." He would, in all probability, have kept his word, if he had not fallen from his horse after having taken and burned Mantes, and died from the consequences of the accident.

pre-eminence in Africa, the Christians, though harassed, enjoyed much freedom in the exercise of their worship. But after the capture of Jerusalem, in 1076, by Alp-Arslan, the second Sultan of the Turks,\* the persecutions endured by the inhabitants of the holy city became intolerable—the more especially as the defeat, by the infidels, of Romanus (surnamed Diogenes) Emperor of Constantinople, deprived them of all hope of recovering their liberty. “From this time,” says Guillaume de Tyr, “the citizens had no

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\* Togrul-Bey, son of Michel, son of Seljouk, was their first Sultan. He was elected in 1038, and reigned until 1063. Guillaume de Tyr thus narrates his election. “Having by common consent agreed to give themselves a King, they took a general survey of the innumerable population, and from among all, they acknowledged one hundred families to be more illustrious than the rest. Each family was then commanded to bring an arrow; which being done, a bundle was formed containing a hundred arrows. This bundle was covered by a mantle. A child was then called and made to place his hand under the mantle and draw forth an arrow, each arrow being previously marked by some designation to show the family from which it was brought. The arrow thus drawn by the child decided from which family the King should be chosen. The lot fell on the family of Seljouk. From the tribe of Seljouk there were then selected a hundred men, superior to the rest by reason of age, manners, and virtues, who were required to produce a hundred arrows, each bearing the name of the individual that brought it. These, again, were formed into a bundle, covered with a mantle, and the child, as before, drew one forth. It bore the name of Seljouk, for it belonged to Togrul-Bey, son of Michel, son of Seljouk.”

repose, at home or abroad. Death menaced them every day and every moment of the day. And what was far worse than death, they were forced into hopeless bondage. No place was sacred: even the churches that they had preserved and repaired were exposed to outrage and violation. While celebrating divine worship, their churches were entered by the infidels, who, uttering cries of fury and menaces of death, seated themselves on the altars, overturned the chalices, trod under foot the sacred vessels, broke the marbles, and heaped reproaches and blows upon the priests. The patriarch himself was treated by them as an abject creature. They pushed him from his seat, thrust him to the ground, and dragged him about by his beard or his hair; and afterward cast him into a dungeon: all of which indignities and injuries were inflicted that the people might be made to suffer through the sufferings of their beloved priest."

This persecution, however, had its usual effect: the number of pilgrims to visit the holy sepulchre was doubled; for the greater the risk incurred in accomplishing their vow, the greater they conceived to be, in the eyes of the Lord, the merit of its performance. The majority of these pilgrims were Greeks and Latins; but some were Normans. On reaching the gates of Jerusalem, half-naked, exhausted with fatigue and dying with hunger, they were forced to pay a piece of gold for the privilege of entering the city—which money was exacted under the name

of tribute. Those who were unable to comply with this demand, — and their number was large — were crowded together in the environs of the city, more wretched than ever. Here, reduced to nakedness and scorched by the sun, they finally died of thirst and famine. The dead and the living were equally an expense to the inhabitants of the city : for they were forced to bury the one, and to deprive themselves of every thing to support the other.

One day, a priest appeared in the midst of this suffering multitude. He had encountered and escaped a host of perils ; he had suffered innumerable hardships, without seeming to have felt them, although a man of diminutive stature and of miserable external appearance. He presented himself at one of the gates ; and, on the usual demand as to his name and origin, he replied that his name was Peter ; that his countrymen surnamed him *The Hermit* ; and that he was born in the bishopric of Amiens, in the kingdom of France. He paid the customary tribute and entered the city.

He was a man of ardent faith and irrepressible ambition : ambition that had for its object the things of Heaven, for which he strove as zealously as others do for the things of earth. The woes and persecutions which overwhelmed the Christians around him instigated him to undertake a mighty enterprise.

As soon, therefore, as he had paid his devotions

in the sacred places, he requested and obtained from Simon, patriarch of Jerusalem, a letter, in which were carefully and minutely detailed the calamities of the faithful. This the patriarch sealed with his seal to give it authenticity, and he then bestowed his benediction on Peter; who, resuming his staff, left the city and repaired to the port of Jaffa, where he found a vessel ready to sail for Apulia. He embarked at once, made a prosperous voyage, landed at Genoa, proceeded to Paris and thence to Rome, where he presented himself before Pope Urban II., and placed in his hand the patriarchal letter. To this he added his own testimony, touching the miseries of the faithful and the abominations committed by the accursed Mussulmans in the holy places of Jerusalem.\*

The holy father was moved by the confidence with which the Christians of the East looked for aid from their brethren of the West. He called to mind the words of Tobit—"O, Jerusalem! the holy city, he will scourge thee for thy children's works and will have mercy again on the sons of the righteous. Give praise to the Lord, for he is good; and praise the everlasting King, that his tabernacle may be builded in thee again with joy, and let him make joyful there in thee those that are captives, and love in thee for ever, those that are miserable. Many

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\* Guillaume de Tyr.

nations shall come from far to the name of the LORD God with gifts in their hands, even gifts to the King of heaven ; all nations shall praise thee with great joy.”\*

He therefore resolved to urge all Christian princes to take up arms, and, by their united power, deliver the Holy Sepulchre from the sacrilegious hands of the infidels.

In furtherance of this design he crossed the Alps, descended into Gaul and stopped at Clermont, where he convoked a council. On the appointed day, followed by Peter, he entered into the chamber where three hundred and seventy prelates were assembled from the dioceses of Italy, Germany and France.

The discourse addressed to them was simple, eloquent and concise. It was a representation of the sufferings endured by their brethren in the East : sufferings predicted by King David and the prophet Jeremiah. It essayed to prove from the Scriptures that the LORD loved Jerusalem above all other cities ; and that the malediction pronounced against Hagar was designed for the Saracens—styled at that period, Hagarites or Ishmaelites—who were therefore accursed and would, consequently, be vanquished.

This discourse which appealed to their religious and warlike sympathies—i. e. to the two great

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\* Tobit (*Apocrypha*) xiii., 9. 10. 11.



necessities of the period, had a prodigious and instantaneous effect. Each prelate, walking in the path opened for him, returned to his diocese disseminating the words of war and saying, with St. Matthew, "I came not to send peace, but a sword."

The result of this general exhortation to arms was the separation of husbands from wives, and fathers from sons. No tie was of sufficient strength, no love of sufficient power, no danger of sufficient terror, to restrain those who arose, like the multitudinous waves, at the words of God. The zeal for religion, however, was not the sole incentive to this great coalition. Some joined the Crusade that they might not be separated from their friends who had joined it; others, to escape the imputation of apathy or cowardice; others, to avoid their creditors; and others, again, from recklessness, a taste for adventure, or a predilection for new scenes and new excitement. But, be the motive what it might, immense numbers gathered themselves to the great rendezvous of the Western nations, exclaiming, "It is the will of God: it is the will of God!"

The heroes of the first Crusade assembled in the spring of 1096. Among the most conspicuous of its leaders were—

Hugh the Great, brother of King Philip, the first and the most enthusiastic of all. He crossed the ocean and disembarked at Durazzo with the Franks under his command:

Bohemond of Apulia, son of Robert Guiscard, a Norman by birth, took the same route with the Italian troops :

Godefroy de Bouillon, Duke of Lower Lorraine, traversed Hungary with a numerous army, and reached the Holy City, which he was destined to deliver and to rule as King :

Raymond, Count of Toulouse, passed through Slavonia, with an army composed entirely of Goths and Gascons :

Robert, son of King William of England, took the route through Dalmatia with a host of Normans :

And, lastly, Peter the Hermit, and a noble called Walter the Penniless, followed by a multitude organized into companies of infantry, took their way through the kingdom of the Teutons and descended into Hungary.\*

The general rendezvous was in the environs of Nicæa; and the crusading army when it arrived before that city — though diminished to one quarter of its original size by fatigue, famine, desertion and defeat — was still so considerable that it seemed, says Anna Comnena, “as if Europe, shaken from her foundations, was about to fall upon Asia.” In fact, if we may credit contemporaneous authors, the number of those who first took up the Cross exceeded six millions of men.

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\* Foulches de Chartres, — Guillaume de Tyr.

Europe now inundated Asia, as Asia had formerly spread itself over Europe. The Mohammedan nations issuing forth from Arabia, had, in their migration, conquered Syria and Egypt, followed the coast of Africa, leaped the Mediterranean as if it had been a rivulet, crossed the Pyrenees as they would have marched over a hillock, rushed upon Provence, and, as we have before related, expired between Tours and Poitiers, under the exterminating sword of Karl-le-Martel.

The Christians, in turn, accomplishing the reaction of revenge, marched from the place where the Saracens had fallen ; followed through Europe the opposite shores of the same sea, crossed the Bosphorus and attacked the Sons of the Prophet on the very spot whence they had originally set forth to attack the followers of CHRIST.\*

Let us now abandon the Crusade before Nicæa as we abandoned the conquest of England at Hastings, — and return to France.

As soon as the national party had triumphed by the substitution of the Capetian for the Carolingian race, the people — after six centuries of servitude — concluded that, as the nobles were justified in disembarassing themselves of a sovereign, they, also, were

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\* CHATEAUBRIAND, *Etudes Historiques*.

entitled to be relieved from subjection to the nobles : and this political theory, once adopted, was never abandoned.

Cambrai was the first city that reduced this theory to practice : she resolved to constitute herself a *Commune*.

Gilbert de Nogent, a writer of the twelfth century, gives us the definition of Commune in his autobiography : " The meaning of this novel and execrable word is, that the serfs will no longer pay their masters the rent they owe them except once a year ; and, if they commit any offence, they must be pardoned on payment of a legal fine. As for other levies of money that it was customary to impose on the serfs, they are all annulled.\*

We could not have given a better definition of the word, commune, than the reverend abbé, in his holy indignation, has recorded.

As early as the year 957 — that is, sixty years after a national party had sprung up in France by the election of Eudes to the prejudice of Charles the Simple—the inhabitants of Cambrai attempted to

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\* Communio, autem, novum ac pessimum nomen, sic se habet, ut capite censi omnes solitum servitutis debitum dominis semel in anno solvant, et, si quid contra jura deliquerint, pensione legali emendent ; cæteræ censuum exactiones, quæ servis infligi solent, omnimodis vacent. — GUIBERTUS *abbas*, *de vita sua*.

form themselves into a commune\* during a temporary absence of their bishop. When his reverence returned from the court of the Emperor of Germany, he found the gates of the city closed against him. He then appealed to the Emperor for aid; who granted him an army of Germans and Flemings, with which he returned to the rebellious city. The inhabitants were terrified into submission, broke their compact, and opened the gates to the bishop.†

He, however, was far from being appeased by their submission. But, on the contrary, mortified and exasperated that the serfs of his own city should have refused him an entrance and renounced his authority, he determined to inflict summary vengeance upon them. He marched the army into the town where the soldiers pursued the conspirators even into the churches and butchered them without mercy. When the victors were at length weary of slaughter, they consented to make prisoners of the rebels: but they afterward mutilated the poor wretches, destroyed their eyes, and branded them in the forehead with a red-hot iron.‡

\* Cives in unum conspirantes, episcopo absente, diù desideratum conjurârunt communiam. — BALDERICI, *Chron.*

† AUGUSTIN THIERRY, Letter xvi.

‡ Novum genus spectaculi: continuo namque armati limen sanctissimæ ædis absque reverentiæ modo irrumpentes, alios interfecerunt, alios, truncatis manibus et pedibus, demembrârunt: quibusdam vero oculos fodiebant, quibusdam frontes ferro ardente notabant. — BALDERICI, *Chron.*

Here, again, the monstrous severity of the persecution defeated its own object. Far from stifling by terror the germs of revolt that were swelling in the hearts of the Cambraisians, it augmented their desire to be relieved from such atrocious domination. In the year 1024, a new attempt at deliverance led to another imperial interference and another ecclesiastical suppression. Forty years afterward, the inhabitants again took up arms; and three armies,—of which, one still belonged to the German empire—once more wrested them from their grasp.\* At length, taking advantage of the troubles that followed the excommunication of Henry IV. of Germany, which obliged this Emperor to give his sole attention to his own affairs, the Cambraisians, assisted by the Count of Flanders, for the fourth time proclaimed their commune. This, too, was destroyed in 1107, but it was soon after re-established upon such a just and solid basis that it served as a model to other towns, which, by their partial and successive enfranchisement, anticipated the general liberty of France.

The immunities that the Cambraisians owed to a long, bloody, and mortal opposition to ecclesiastical power formed so singular a contrast to the thralldom of the other towns, that contemporary writers regarded their constitution as an anomaly. “What shall I say,” exclaims one of them, “concerning the liberty of this city? Neither bishop nor Emperor

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\* Histoire de Cambrai. — AUGUSTIN THIERRY.

may there levy taxes; no tribute can be exacted from her, and no army is permitted to approach her walls, save for the defence of the commune.”\*

The author of this extract has given a picture of ecclesiastical rights destroyed: the following is a description of secular rights created.

The citizens of Cambrai formed their town into a commune. They chose from among themselves, by an elective vote, twenty-four jurors, who were compelled to assemble every day at the hotel-de-ville, the court-house. The administration and the judicial functions were divided between them. Each juror was obliged to entertain, at his own expense, a valet and a saddle-horse, so as always to be in readiness to transport himself without delay wherever the duties of his office might render his presence necessary.

This was a complete trial of the democratic power, cast, like a lost child, into the midst of feudal France. The historians of the twelfth and thirteenth centuries give to the enfranchised towns, or those endeavoring to become such, the name, sometimes, of republic† and sometimes, of commune.

\* Quid autem de libertate hujus urbis dicam? Non episcopus non imperator taxationem in eâ facit; non tributum ab eâ exigitur, non denique exercitum ex eâ eduxit, nisi tantum modo ob defensionem urbis.

† Facta est dissensio Remis, et *respublica* conjurata à civibus. — *Chron. Remeus.*

Noyon soon followed the example of Cambrai, but with much less difficulty. Its bishop, Baudri de Sarchainville, (from whose memoirs we have drawn our Latin quotations and authorities relative to the revolution of Cambrai) was a man of information, of sound judgment, and possessing the power to justly appreciate events. He saw that a new order of things had come into the world and that the bantling was too strong to be smothered: so that the wiser plan was to anticipate necessity, and not to be overtaken and crushed by it. Therefore in the year 1108, *some days before the accession of Louis-le-Gros to the throne*, he, of his own choice, called together all the inhabitants of the town, who for a length of time had desired a commune and who, by disputes with the metropolitan clergy, were preparing for a change. To this assembly, composed of artisans, tradesmen, students and even knights, he presented the draught of a charter bestowing on the inhabitants the privilege of electing their own jurors, guarantying to them the exclusive ownership of their property, and making them amenable only to their municipal magistrates. This was conceding more freedom than we, at the present day, enjoy. Our modern municipal council bears, indeed, some resemblance to the ancient juries; but over this council a mayor of the King's appointment presides.

It may well be supposed that this charter was joyfully received and fervently sworn to by the people.



After Louis-le-Gros ascended the throne, he was called on to grant his sanction to this charter because *Noyon was situated in that portion of Picardy which was holden of the King of France.*

We italicise some words in the preceding paragraphs because, following the thread of our narration, and anticipating the reign of Louis-le-Gros, we consider this the fitting place to discredit the prevailing belief that to this monarch belongs the honor of enfranchising the communes.

The communes, as we have seen from the example of Cambrai and Noyon, and are yet to see from that of Laon, were enfranchised by their own spirit of liberty and supported the enfranchisement by their own proper strength. The subsequent approval of such enfranchisement by the bishop, or by the King if the bishop held tenure of him, was a simple ceremonial rite which, on an emergency, the communes might dispense with; but which, from policy, the King, the nobles and the bishops desired to make a merit of conceding to the already emancipated inhabitants, whom they found themselves unable to reduce to their former servitude. It is with this view that history, as servile as a courtier, and the Charter of Louis XVIII., as false as history, wrongfully award to Louis-le-Gros the idea of enfranchisement which, for a hundred and sixty years preceding his epoch, had been germinating in the hearts of the inhabitants of many of our towns.

In fact, besides the two communes that Louis-le-Gros found already established when he ascended the throne in 1108, there were two others, instituted as early as 1102. These were, the Commune of Beauvais, of plebeian origin, as is verified by the letters of Yvon;\* and that of St. Quentin. The charter of this latter city was granted by Raoul, Count of Vermandois;† who, powerful as he was, did not deem it expedient to require its ratification by the then reigning monarch — Philip I.

As the history of the Commune of Laon belongs to the reign of Louis-le-Gros, we shall omit the further consideration of it for the present. Our sole object was to demonstrate, by precise dates, the fact that four communes were already established in the environs of Paris when the prince who enjoys the honor of projecting this general emancipation ascended the throne of France.

Having now briefly considered the three great events of the reign of Philip I.; the Norman Conquest, the first Crusade, and the enfranchisement of the communes; it remains for us to show what influence the first two exerted over the third.

\* *Turbulenta conjuratio factæ communionis. — Epistolæ Itonis, Carnotensis episcopi, apud script. rer. franc.*

† *Cum primum communia acquisita fuit, omnes Viromandiæ pares, et omnes clerici, salvo ordine suo, omnesque milites, salvâ fidelitate comitis, firmiter tenendam juraverunt. — Recueil des ordonnances des rois de France.*

The reader will bear in mind, that when Charles the Simple surrendered to the Danish chief, by treaty, the two fine provinces of Normandy and Brittany, his governing motive in the concession was to secure to himself, in the midst of France, a firm and powerful ally : so that, in case he should be deserted by the German Emperor, he might successfully resist the encroachments of the national party, who were eager for the overthrow of the Carolingian dynasty, and whose leaders were such men as Robert, Hugh-the-Great, and Here-bert, Count of Vermandois.

It will also be remembered that the Dukes of Normandy, disappointing the hopes of Charles the Simple, had, in accordance with the promptings of their interest, alternately lent their aid to the national and to the Carolingian cause. Eventually, however, Rik-hard attached himself permanently to the national party by becoming the brother-in-law of Hugh Capet, and promoting his election to the throne. From this period until the Conquest of England by the Normans, the good understanding between the two powers was uninterrupted : and, probably, had William remained Duke of Normandy and Brittany, instead of becoming King of England, Philip would have found him an efficient ally in repressing these growing communes — especially, as William might have had reason to fear that the sentiment of liberty, thus manifesting itself in the domin-

ions of the King and of his brother nobles, would soon create disturbances in his own. But when he abandoned a simple duchy for the conquest of a great kingdom, he divested Normandy and Brittany of their importance ; reducing them to mere appendages of the English crown — to fiefs of a monarchy which held its seat of empire beyond the sea — to a sort of foot-hold that Great-Britain retained in the kingdom of France.

But, in the event, so far was William from becoming the ally of Philip, although he had been his vassal while Duke of Normandy, that he became his rival when he ascended the throne of England, and afterward his determined and victorious enemy. William's son, William Rufus, inherited his father's animosity and bequeathed it as an heir-loom to his successor : so that Philip, in place of receiving assistance from Normandy to suppress the communes, was glad to unite with the communes against Normandy.

It is evident, therefore, that the Norman Conquest indirectly, but efficaciously, encouraged the popular sedition and commotion that began to agitate France under the reign of Philip.

The Crusades had, and thereafter were to have, a more direct bearing upon the same result.

The influence they already exercised was this :

The nobles, obedient to the summons of Peter the Hermit, urging them to deliver the Tomb of CHRIST

from the infidels, carried in their train all the soldiers they could muster in the provinces under their respective control ; and, consequently, the seignorial authority almost vanished from France. The clergy—and even a portion of the clergy accompanied the nobles—the clergy, we say, and the people therefore remained alone and in opposition to each other. The clergy, by becoming proprietors of immense landed possessions, ceased to feel a community of interest with the serfs, who had no domains. As the priests became rich, they ceased to be of the people ; and the moment they ceased to be the equals of the lower classes, they became their oppressors. When the people determined to organize themselves into communes, they had but, in a measure, to struggle against the ecclesiastical power ; since the most influential and the bravest nobles—whom, unquestionably, they could not successfully have resisted—were absent from the kingdom, and therefore unable to repress these insurrectionary movements, which, from their very impunity, led to a general commotion.

The influence that the Crusades were thereafter to exert may be thus explained :

The nobles, departing at such short notice for the Holy Land, in order to defray the expenses of so long a journey, were obliged to sell a part of their domains to the clergy. The money, so raised, was improvidently dissipated by these prodigal knights

and fell into the hands of the frugal townsmen and trades-people, who had undertaken to supply the army and had furnished the armor and equipage for the horses. Soon, also, an immense traffic in merchandise followed the Crusade, and extended itself to the North, by Hungary, into Greece; and to the South, by the ports of the Mediterranean, into Egypt. With the enjoyment of the comforts of life, came the desire of retaining them. The method of preserving them to the poorer classes was evidently such a constitution as should guaranty their social and political rights: and the means of procuring such a constitution were to be found in emancipation.

From this moment, then, the emancipation of the people began, and its progress was not arrested until it had attained its end—Liberty.

On the other hand, the monarchica<sup>l</sup> power which was destined to be, at length, the sole remaining enemy of Liberty, in order that when it, in turn, was overthrown, Liberty should be not merely the queen but the Goddess of the world—the monarchical power, from this time, and from similar causes, gained ground over the temporal power of the nobles and the spiritual power of the clergy. Thenceforward the feudal system, enfeebled by this pious migration, was no longer arrayed against the royal authority; but was, rather, its defensive weapon; a buckler protecting it from the enemy and the people, but which was at length struck from the regal arm by

foreign and civil war. Thus, from the termination of the eleventh century the march of the monarchical power and the popular authority was onward. Feudalism, the daughter of barbarism, was the mother of Monarchy and Liberty — twin sisters, one of whom was destined to stifle the other.

The revolutions, then, that for eight centuries have swept over France, took their rise, by feeble and imperceptible gradations, from the foot of Philip's throne ; and, swelling from age to age, are precipitated in immeasurable proportions into the midst of our own epoch.

Thus, amid the Alps, a child may leap over the sources of four great rivers which, in their onward and impetuous course, trench all Europe, and pour into four different seas their tributary waters.\*

We will now briefly consider some of the lesser events of Philip's reign ; events which are almost lost in the shadow of the three great ones just related.

Philip, in conformity to the precaution of the Kings of the third race, caused his son, Louis, to be consecrated during his own life-time.

The Romance language became more and more perfected : the earliest Provençal poets appeared

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\* The Rhone, which throws itself into the Mediterranean ; the Danube, into the Black Sea ; the Po, into the Adriatic ; and the Rhine, into the Ocean.

under the name of Troubadours ; and the first Neustrian poets, under the name of Trouvères.

The crusading knights—in the midst of an armed host composed of many millions of men, who spoke thirty different languages—found it necessary to have some rallying signal for their own retainers, and they therefore adopted certain external symbols to meet this exigency. On their return from the Holy Land, these symbols were, from habit or from ostentation, retained ; and those who had no such distinction already, imitated the example from envy. This was the origin of armorial bearings.

In 1088, St. Bruno founded the Order of the Chartreuse in the heart of the mountains of Dauphiny.

A new order of architecture was introduced during this reign and applied to the construction of churches. It received the name of Gothic, and occupied a middle ground between the decline and the revival of Roman architecture.

During the same reign, important events occurred in other countries contiguous to France.

The Cid—the Hero of Spain—subdued Toledo and New Castile to the authority of Alphonso VI.\*

Henry IV., Emperor of Germany, deposed Pope Gregory VII.—who excommunicated and deposed him (the Emperor) in turn.†

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\* In 1073.

† In 1076.



Jerusalem was taken by the Crusaders,\* and Godefroy de Bouillon was proclaimed her King.

William Rufus was killed in the chase, and Henry I. ascended the English throne.†

All these things were accomplished at home, or were about to be accomplished abroad, when Philip I. expired at Melun in the year 1108 in the fifty-seventh year of his age. His son Louis VI. succeeded him.

Louis VI.,—usually styled *Louis-le-Gros* (the Fat), was one of those men who have the good fortune to be born at the right time, and to be endowed with moral qualities exactly adapted to the exigencies of the period. On coming to the throne, he ascertained the position of France and estimated his own strength; and he conceived that royalty, in an age when society was organizing itself, ought to be a sovereignty, and not a *suzeraineté*.‡ He devoted his energies, therefore, to the perfection of this design: and his reign was a sort of programme of the grand drama performed by Louis XI.

One man powerfully aided him in laying the foundation of his monarchical edifice. He was neither a Mayor of the palace, formidable for his arms; nor

\* In 1099.

† In 1100.

‡ We have no English word corresponding to *suzeraineté*, and it may be necessary to state that, during the feudal ages, the King was but a lord *suzerain*, or lord paramount, among his peers; a *sovereign*, in our acceptation of the term, holds a higher rank than this, and possesses superior attributes of power.

a Count of Paris, influential for his domains : but a simple abbé of St. Denis; a man of genius; a co-regent after the manner of Sully and Colbert; a *minister*, in fact, in the modern (political) acceptation of the word. This man was Suger.

Owing to the partial contests waged by Louis-le-Gros against the feudal system, and to the skilful management of the royal domains, — to which Suger attached the lands bought from the lords previous to their departure for the Holy Land, and the fortresses taken from rebellious and vanquished vassals — a central and regular government began to prevail from the very commencement of this reign.

Royalty slipped its feudal leading-strings; tried its first steps; claimed the privileges incident to its peculiar conformation; and stood forth a supreme power; a power that would do little for national liberty,\* but much for forming and perpetuating a government.

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\* We have shown that Louis-le-Gros had nothing to do with the enfranchisement of the communes. In corroboration of our own opinion we quote the following from M. Guizot; a man whom we admire as a historian as much as we dislike him as a minister:— "I think it is without reason that to them (Louis-le-Gros and Suger,) the honor is ascribed of the first enfranchisement of the communes. This event occurred before their day, proceeded from causes independent of their agency, was accomplished without their concurrence, and was opposed as often as seconded by them."—FR. GUIZOT, *Notice sur Suger*.

Even during the life-time of his father, Louis had commenced the work of concentration; for he was aware how much vexation Philip had suffered from the nobles entrenched in their castles on the very territory belonging to the crown. The château of Montléry, among others, which belonged to Guy de Truxel, son of Milon, commanded the high-way from Paris to Orleans; "So that," says Suger, "the depredations of this lord produced such embarrassment and disorder in the communication between the inhabitants of the two towns, that they were forced to make the journey in large companies capable of defending themselves."

As soon, therefore, as Philip became master of this almost impregnable castle, by the marriage of one of his sons\* with the daughter of Guy de Truxel, he admonished Louis always to retain it; "for," said he, "the vexations arising from it have turned my hair gray; and that lord's damnable wiles and stratagems have never allowed me an instant's quiet or repose."

Louis, on becoming King, took, successively, the castles of Gournay, Sainte-Sévère, Ferté-Beaudouin, and Roche-Guyon; and, improving the opportunity offered by a revolt of his brother Philip, he made himself master of the citadel of Mantes and this same fortress of Montléry, of which, despite his

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\* Philip, a son by the Countess of Angers.

father's caution, he had imprudently dispossessed himself. After taking all these fortresses, he laid siege to the castle of Puyset, the reduction of which, though apparently of easy achievement, cost him three years of contest—just the amount of time consumed by the Crusaders in conquering Palestine.

Continuing the labour of rooting out these signories from the royal domain, as a gardener would eradicate the weeds from his beds, he marched against the château of Nogent and forced it to surrender : then, continuing his course into Bourges, he took Germigny, and sent Aymon, its chatellan, into France, leaving this fortress, as he had done all the others, under the care of men devoted to his interest.

Soon after, foreign war claimed his attention. Henry I., of England, had landed in Normandy ; and, desirous of extending his dominions in France, and not unwilling to testify his hereditary hatred of the nation, had taken up the interminable duel where William Rufus left it.

The first encounters were of little moment to either party ; but on the twentieth of August, 1119, the French army was defeated at Brenneville. Louis, however, counterbalanced this disaster by several minor victories : he was then obliged to take the field against a more powerful foe.

The domestic troubles of Germany, having been appeased by the deposition of Henry IV., his successor, Henry V., found himself at the head of a tranquil

and mighty empire. He looked back, now, with jealous regret upon the time of the Germanic supremacy over the Frank kingdom: a supremacy which his ancestors had been unable to assert since the triumph of the national party. And, making a pretext of the excommunication pronounced against him at Rheims by the Pope Calistus, he prepared to invade Champagne.

Upon this, Louis made an appeal as a sovereign to his grand vassals, who would have regarded themselves as his equals in the time of Hugh Capet;\* and the grand vassals obeyed. Thenceforward the supremacy of royalty over feudalism was not a theory but a fact.

The plains of Rheims were chosen as the general rendezvous of the troops. In order that Saint Denis, the special protector and patron of France, might be propitious to the enterprise, the King went in person to the Abbey of St. Denis and took from the altar the banner of the county of Vexin,† which

\* Every one is familiar with the reply of Adelbert to Hugh Capet, when the latter demanded who made him a Count?—

“Those who made thee King.”

† This is the banner that afterward became so celebrated under the name of *Ori flamme*; a standard that must not be confounded with the banner of the Franks, nor the banner of France. The former of these two, was simply the cloak of St. Martin; the latter, was of violet or sky-blue colored velvet, which Louis the Young, son of Louis the Fat, studded with

county, Louis, though King, held of that Church ; and, receiving it with great devotion, he repaired to the rendezvous (and was the first to arrive there) attended by a handful of men.

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golden fleurs-de-lys, when he brought it back from the Holy Land. Charles V. reduced the number of the fleurs-de-lys to three in honor of the Holy Trinity ; and from Charles V. to Charles X. the three fleurs-de-lys were adopted by our sovereigns as the arms of the kingdom of France.

The oriflamme was not white, as many painters and historians have represented it. The origin of the first part of its name—the golden lance to which it was attached ; and that of the latter part—the color of the material of which it was made ; ought to have prevented them from falling into this error. Besides, Guillaume Guiard has given a description of it in the four following lines :

“ Oriflamme est une bannière  
Aucun poi plus forte que guimple,  
De cendal roujoyant et simple,  
Sans pourtraiture d'autre affaire.”

The Flemish chronicles, too, agree on this point with the author we have quoted. “ He held a lance to which was attached the oriflamme, of a vermillion *samite*, in the form of a gonfalon cut into three points, each of which was tasselled with green silk.”

The testimony of Raoul de Presle, in his history of St. Denis, is as positive as that of the Flemish chronicles: “ The oriflamme is a gilded sword, to which is attached a vermillion banner.”

The successors of Louis the Fat followed his example, and the oriflamme became their principal ensign. It was not until the

But his summons had been heard and heeded by the realm at large. "When," says Suger, "our mighty army was collected together from all parts of France, there was so great a number of cavaliers and men on foot that it seemed as if a swarm of locusts covered the surface of the earth, not only on the shores of the rivers, but on the mountains and in the plains." The army amounted to nearly three hundred thousand men.

Nevertheless, if a national war, a war against Germany, had not been in agitation, probably the appeal to arms would not have been so enthusiastically answered. The hatred of the people toward the protectors of the Carolingian race was so extreme, that, in this case, even the enemies of the King rallied around his standard : and, among others, Count

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reign of Charles VII. that it disappeared from the French armies; and then, not because their faith in the banner was decreased, but because St. Denis was in possession of the English and the King could not procure it from the monastery. In the mean time, Joan of Arc appeared and bore a white banner with the single word, *Jhesus*, embroidered on it. The victories obtained under this new standard militated much against the credit of the other, which, indeed, was quite forgotten; and when the English were driven out of the kingdom, the banner of Joan was adopted in its stead. Hence the origin of the white flag. Nevertheless, Félibien assures us that in 1594 the oriflamme was still among the treasures of St. Denis: but very much moth-eaten and discolored.

Thibault himself, came to his assistance ; although, continues Suger, “he was then, with his uncle, the King of England, waging war against the Lord Louis.”

The King essayed to discipline this vast multitude ; and from this time began those military dispositions and that organization of armed masses that the genius of Napoleon carried to such a degree of perfection. Suger has transmitted the details of these preparations and we shall quote them here, as they seem to us extremely curious and, from their source, likely to be authentic.

“The first corps was formed of the troops from Rheims and Châlons, six thousand in number, foot-soldiers\* as well as cavaliers. The men of Soissons and of Laon, not less numerous, composed the second. The third corps consisted of the Orleanese, the Parisians, the men of Etampes, and the multitudinous army of the blessed St. Denis, so devoted to

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\* The foot-soldiers were almost all men of the communes. The militia drawn from them furnished, until the time of Francis I., the infantry of the army. It was in the midst of a body of such troops — who had no defensive arms but helmets and sometimes cuirasses of leather ; and no offensive weapons but lances or scythes — that the knights, armed cap-a-pie, mounted on horses covered with iron, and dealing blows with swords that required to be wielded with both hands, entered like reapers. This explains the wondrous feats of prowess of the middle-ages, which we are almost tempted to regard as fabulous.



the crown. The King, full of confidence in his patron, placed himself at the head of these troops. "It is they," said he, "who will aid me if living, and carry me if dead." The noble Hugh, Count of Troyes, led the fourth division. The fifth was commanded by the Duke of Burgundy and the Count of Nevers. Raoul, Count of Vermandois, renowned for courage and illustrious for his near relationship to the King, was followed by a host of chosen knights from St. Quentin and the adjacent country, well appointed with cuirasses and helmets, who were to compose the right wing. The left wing, by direction of Louis, was formed of the men of Ponthieu, Amiens, and Beauvais. In the rear-guard was placed the very noble Count of Flanders with his ten thousand fine troops, and near him were stationed William, Duke of Aquitania, the Count of Brittany, and the valiant warrior Foulques, Count of Angers.\* It was provided that whenever the army was engaged in battle, carts filled with water and wine should be placed on the field in a circle, where those whom wounds or fatigue obliged to quit the action might withdraw to refresh themselves for a renewal of the contest."

When the Emperor was apprized of these dispositions, and of the numbers arrayed against him, he at

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\* It is obvious from this, that with the exception of Normandy and Auvergne, all the feudatories of France marched under the orders of the King.

once lost heart, and retreated without daring to risk a battle. The King had great difficulty in restraining his army from carrying the war into the Germanic dominions.\*

During these preparations for war with Germany, the King of England again essayed to make himself master of the frontier of France bordering on Normandy. But a single baron, Amaury de Montfort, at the head of a small body of troops collected in Vexin, frustrated his attempts; and, in numerous encounters, gallantly sustained the honor of his country: so that Henry, finding that the diversion on the part of Germany, on which he had calculated, had failed to further his own purposes, was glad to make proposals of peace to Louis, and offered to renew his homage for his Duchy of Normandy. The proposals were accepted.

Louis, being now disencumbered of his two powerful antagonists, renewed his expeditions against his own refractory vassals. His first movement was directed against the Auvergnats, who had not yet submitted, and who claimed affinity with the Romans.† They had disregarded his summons to the field, and

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\* On receiving news of his retreat, nothing but the prayers of the archbishops, bishops, and men revered for their piety, sufficed to restrain the French troops from carrying devastation into this prince's dominions and pillaging the unfortunate inhabitants.—SUGER, *Life of Louis-le-Gros*.

† *Avernique ausi Latios se fingere fratres.*

Louis soon found occasion to make them repent of their temerity.

The bishop of Clermont, expelled from his See by William IV., Count of Auvergne, sought refuge and aid from the King of France. Louis granted him both. He assembled an army, pursued the Auvergnats into their mountains; took, one after another, their castles which they thought impregnable—being built on the summits of the rocks; obtained possession of Clermont their capital; restored to God his Church, to the clergy its fortresses, to the bishop his city; re-established peace between him and the Count; and caused that peace to be ratified by numerous hostages and by the most sacred vows.\*

He was equally successful in his next two expeditions. The first was against the assassins of Charles the Good, nephew of Robert, Count of Flanders, surnamed the Jerusalemite on account of his exploits in the Holy Land. Louis attacked them in the city of Bruges, made them all prisoners, and in the first place condemned to death the two principal instigators of the murder. As the nature of the punishment inflicted in any particular age is a test of the civilization to which that age has attained, we shall describe what these convicts suffered.

“Bouchard,” says Suger, “was bound upon an elevated wheel, where he remained exposed to the

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\* SUGER; *Life of Louis-le-Gros*.

voracity of crows and birds of prey, which picked out his eyes and mangled his face. After this, he was pierced by arrows, darts, and javelins, aimed at him from below, and he died in the most cruel tortures. His body was then thrown in a ditch.

“His accomplice, Berthold, was suspended on a gibbet with a dog. The dog was worried by the spectators; and, every time he was struck, he vented his rage by biting and tearing the culprit’s face.

“The other prisoners who had been shut up by Lord Louis in a tower, were taken to the top of it and, successively, thrown off to be dashed in pieces at the bottom, in sight of their relations.”

The King now marched against the château de Couci, near Laon, belonging to Thomas de Marle: an execrable being, who oppressed the Holy Church and respected neither God nor man.

Thomas was soon defeated, mortally wounded by Raoul, Count of Vermandois, and taken to Laon. The next day, his defences were broken up, and his property confiscated to the crown.

Louis—notwithstanding his extreme corpulence—conducted, in person, three other expeditions. The first, against the château de Livry, belonging to Amaury de Montfort; and the other two, against the fortresses of Bonneval and Château-Renard, belonging to Count Thibault. All three fell into his hands.

Having followed royalty in its contest with the nobles, let us now follow the communes in their

struggle with royalty : and as the history of one town is, essentially, the history of all, in details as well as results, we shall take as an example the revolution of Laon ; concerning which Guibert de Nogent gives us the most minute particulars.

The See of the cathedral of Laon had remained vacant for two years, when the King of England (who industriously scattered through the French dominions individuals on whom he could rely) succeeded, by means of promises and presents, in obtaining the bishopric for Gaudry, his referendary, who, however, had never received any higher orders than the clerkship, nor led any other life than that of a soldier. Notwithstanding this odd novitiate, he received the Episcopal unction in the church of St. Ruffin. The text chosen for the services of that day was, as it chanced, prophetic for him : "Yea, a sword shall pierce through thine own soul also."

After the ceremony, the new bishop left the church on horseback, wearing the mitre and arrayed in his official robes, to repair to his palace accompanied by Guibert de Nogent and a young priest. On his way, he met a peasant armed with a lance ; and, warming with the recollection of his military achievements among the English, he seized the lance from the countryman, spurred his horse, and, brandishing the weapon as if in pursuit of a foe, he struck with much address a sapling by the road-side. Guibert, on seeing this very worldly action, could not refrain

from saying that the lance in the hand ill accorded with the mitre on the head.\*

Three years passed, during which time the bishop gave the inhabitants more bad examples than good ones. The profusion and extravagance of the palace caused all serious men to murmur; the more especially, as every kind of exaction was resorted to by the bishop to support his prodigality. "They had reached that pass," says Guibert de Nogent, "that if perchance the King came to the city of Laon—who, certainly, as a monarch, had a right to require the respect due to his station—he was grievously annoyed by the indignities offered to his retinue. For at night and in the morning when his horses were led to water, they were forcibly taken off by the bishop's satellites and the grooms severely beaten. Of course, the common people were treated with far less ceremony. No laboring man could enter the city without incurring the risk of being thrown into prison whence he was obliged to ransom himself; or, of being cited to appear before the judge, and condemned, without any offence, to punishment."

We will relate a single instance of the manner in which the exactions were effected.

"On a Saturday, the country people came from all the adjacent parts to furnish themselves with neces-

\* Non bene conveniunt, nec in unâ sede morantur  
Cidaris et lancea. . . . .

saries from the market at Laon. The bishop's men made the tour of the city with baskets or dishes containing samples of vegetables, grain, or other commodities and offered them, as if they were venders, to the peasants. After the price was agreed upon, the seller said to the buyer, 'Follow to my house and I will deliver to you what you have purchased.' When the parties arrived at the bins containing the commodities, the vender begged his customer to examine the quality of the article; and as he essayed to do so, standing on his tip-toes and reaching his head and shoulders into the bin, the pretended dealer seized him by the feet, pushed him suddenly in, and locked down the cover; he then held him prisoner until a ransom was paid for his deliverance. These, and similar things, were constantly taking place in the towns. The nobles and their retainers publicly committed theft and defended their practices with arms. There was no security for any man belated in the streets; for imprisonment, robbery, or death was certain to be his fate."

However, the various expedients resorted to for oppressing the people were at length exhausted. The inhabitants went to Rheims to purchase commodities; the citizens of Laon remained within doors after nightfall; and the bishop had no prisoners for whom he could demand a ransom. But being in want of money, he set out for Rome to crave assistance from the King of England who was then in that city.

During his absence, the clergy, the arch-deacons

and the nobles, in order to obtain money from the people, offered to grant them the power of forming a commune on payment of a reasonable sum. The populace, overjoyed at an opportunity to relieve themselves from oppression, eagerly thrust the price of their liberty into the hands of these avaricious men; who, rendered tractable by the gold thus showered on them, swore by things most sacred that they would faithfully observe the conditions made with the people.\*

The bargain was scarcely concluded, when the bishop returned from Rome, enriched, for the moment, by the King of England. On his first learning what had been done in his absence, he was much enraged and refused to enter the city. But when he was, apparently, the most inflexible, he suddenly became mollified, made his entrance into Laon, and swore, not only to respect the rights of the commune — which was modelled after the communes of St. Quentin and Noyon — but also to induce the King to ratify the treaty. “This change in his intentions,” says Guibert de Nogent, “was owing to the large sums of money that were offered to him; and they were sufficient to appease the tempest of his words. Similar considerations also determined the course of the King’s conduct.†

\* Guibert de Nogent.

† Rich gifts made by the men of the people also determined the King to confirm this treaty by oath. — GUIBERTUS *abbas*, *de vitâ suâ*.



The commune was therefore accepted by the people, sworn to by the bishop, and ratified by the King.

But the bishop's remembrance of this contract vanished with the gold that purchased it. He dared not venture, however, to lay any new taxes ; and, being out of money, he resorted to counterfeiting, to replenish his coffers.

"The agents employed in this transaction," says the author from whom we draw our information, "counterfeited coin to such an extent that a large number of people were reduced to indigence by the imposition. Pieces of money were fabricated from villainous brass, which, through the wicked ingenuity of the artisans, appeared for a time more brilliant than silver ; so that—alas !—the ignorant were deceived, and exchanged for this money, this dross of the vilest metal, all their valuable possessions."

As soon as the people discovered this new imposition, they refused to receive silver money without first rubbing its edge on a stone ; the bishop was therefore obliged to adopt some new expedient for filling his treasury. The most summary method seemed to be, to repudiate the treaty and reduce the inhabitants to their former condition of serfs, taxable at pleasure. For this purpose, he called together a council, in which it was determined that the King should be induced to visit Laon during the season of Lent, and that, on the eve of Good-Friday, advantage should be taken of his presence to formally abolish the treaty.

The King arrived at the appointed time. The inhabitants, suspecting that his visit was fraught with mischief to themselves, offered him four hundred livres of silver if he would favor their cause. But the bishop and nobles promised to give him seven hundred livres to sustain them in cancelling the treaty. Louis decided in favor of the highest bidder,\* and, on the specified day, repaired to the Hotel de Ville, where the people awaited him. The bishop, in virtue of his spiritual authority, absolved the King from his oath, and afterward absolved himself; they then both declared to the citizens that the Commune of Laon was abolished. The consternation of the people was so great that they uttered no cry of vengeance. But the King, conscious that he had violated all rights, human and divine, dared not sleep that night elsewhere than in the bishop's palace; and the next morning, at day-break, he left the city with his suite in such haste that he was forced to take the bishop's promise of payment in lieu of the seven hundred livres of silver.

The citizens, though at first astounded, were

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\* The cupidity of this King made him favor those who made the most liberal offers. With his free consent, and against what was due to God, all his oaths, as well as those of the bishop and nobles, were recklessly violated and declared void, without respect to honor and to the Holy days.— *Vie de Guibert de Nogent*, liv. 3.

nevertheless filled with rage. The shops, the inns, and the warehouses were closed; the public men refused to discharge their official functions; and the city bore that sad and desolate aspect which we, in our own day, have seen cities assume in the sombre hours that precede the outbreak of a popular revolution.

The external appearance of things was rendered still more solemn by the day on which these occurrences took place. For it was on Good-Friday that the "minds of these men, who were now mortal enemies, prepared themselves, by perjury on the one hand and homicide on the other, to receive the body and blood of our SAVIOUR JESUS CHRIST."\*

During the day, bands of citizens (yet unarmed) moved through the streets, speaking in a low tone; gathering in the public squares; and dispersing at every sound that seemed to intimate the approach of armed troops, to form anew at some other point. It is said, that forty men bound themselves by a terrible oath—the penalty of breaking which was to be the loss of all their hope of eternal salvation—to massacre the bishop and such of his followers as fell into their power. The bishop had received some intimation of the conspiracy, and dared not go to matins.

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\* GUIBERTUS *abbas, de vitâ suâ.*

The next day, however, being Easter-Even, he was obliged to join in the procession. He ordered his servants and a few soldiers to conceal weapons under their dress and follow close behind him. The bishop now found in his suite, and separated from him only by the few servitors on whom he could rely, the whole population whom he had just betrayed. Every face revealed disapprobation, and every vesture covered a heart filled with mortal hatred toward himself. Soon after, a confusion arose, as will always be the case in a crowd, and immediately one of the conspirators, supposing that the time for action had arrived, came out from a low and gloomy arch-way exclaiming in a loud voice, "Commune ! Commune !" The cries, however, died away without echo ; for these men, panting for revenge, yet religious even in their vengeance, would not accomplish it at that moment when the bishop was fulfilling the sacred functions of his office. The guilty man, therefore, returned unharmed to his palace with his pride augmented in proportion to his success. The people, at this stage of the insurrection, might be compared to a young tamed lion, that has not as yet tasted blood, and is regarded as harmless because its strength and fury have never been called into action.

The bishop now hoped that the danger was past ; but he stationed guards, composed of peasants from his own domains, around his palace as well as around the church to prevent disturbances.

Meantime, the city became more and more agitated. The citizens who ventured into the streets, bore arms, either a sword or an axe.

The more timid yet hesitated to make open demonstrations, while the more hardy encouraged the insurgents by gestures from the windows of the houses, and, soon arming themselves, issued into the streets. They hastened on to join their comrades, and slackened their pace only when some lord crossed their path on his way to the palace, whom they eyed with menacing looks. The inhabitants, uniting in troops, were astonished to find themselves so strong in numbers, and they received with yells of savage laughter the reinforcements that were continually arriving.

The bishop was in his palace with the arch-deacon Gauthier, estimating the sums to be extorted from the citizens: for, with a bitter derision, he determined that each man should pay him for the abolition of the commune the same amount as he had formerly paid for its establishment. From time to time a rumbling noise, like distant thunder, reached the ears of these perjured men; for an instant, they would raise their heads and listen, unconscious of the portent of the sound, and then resume the apportionment of the tax. Suddenly, a tremendous tumult burst out under the very walls of the palace. The shouts "Commune! - Commune!" reached the ears of the bishop, who instantly opened a window and per-

ceived all the adjacent streets filled with the armed populace, brandishing pick-axes, swords, bows and hatchets. The insurgents recognised him at once and saluted him with curses and a shower of arrows. He closed the window, and, turning round, saw before him one of his nobles, named Adon, who had come to apprise him that the revolt was general through the city; and that two of the lords (Guinimar; and Regnièr, cousin of the Abbé Guibert, the historian of the events we are recording) were already slain. The prelate, who was a courageous man and habituated to arms, now ordered the necessary preparations to be made; armed himself, and repaired to the walls.

The combat had already commenced. On the side where he stationed himself, the assailants were led by Teudegaud, a serf of the church of St. Vincent, whom the bishop had frequently jeered for his ugliness, and to whom he habitually applied the nick-name of *Isengrin*—a word at that time signifying, in the popular acceptance, a wolf. The mob shouted, like maniacs, “Commune ! Commune !” and placed ladders against the walls, which they scaled, with Isengrin at their head, despite the showers of stones cast on them by the defenders of the palace. The prelate, feeling that success must attend courage so extraordinary in such persons, and that a more desperate assault was in preparation, which he could not hope to resist, retreated precipitately in order to hide himself

in the cellar of the church. On his way thither, he saw that the gate of the palace had been forced, notwithstanding the intrepidity of Adon, to whom this post had been confided. This lord defended himself most vigorously, and he had already slain three of his assailants with his own hand. At length, however, he mounted a table that chanced to be in the court; "and as," says Guibert de Nogent, "besides the wounds that covered his body, he was hurt in both knees, he fell upon them and, for a long time, continued thus to combat, dealing rude blows to those who held him (so to speak) besieged; until, at last, overwhelmed with fatigue, he sank exhausted and was pierced through by an arrow. His corse was soon afterward consumed in the conflagration of the palace. On the death of Adon, all resistance ceased. The followers of Isengrin, who had scaled the walls, joined the men who had forced the gate, and both bands united in the search for the prelate whom, with loud cries, they called not *bishop* but *wretch*."

Nearly an hour was consumed in a fruitless search, and the disappointment added greatly to their rage; but they at length seized on a valet who, alarmed by their threats, pointed toward the cellar. They hastened thither, and found it filled with casks. All of these which, by the sound, proved to be emptied of wine, they pierced with their swords; and at length a shrill cry from the bishop announced that he was wounded and discovered. The cask was opened and

a man taken from it habited like a servant, so that, for a moment, the people supposed they had been deceived. "Who are you?" demanded Isengrin. "A wretched prisoner," replied the bishop; and the answer was responded to with a shout, for all recognised the prelate's voice. Had he been arrayed in his sacerdotal robes, their sacred character might have saved him from the rage of the multitude; but, in the disguise of a servant, he was nothing but a man, a perjured extortioner and a debauchee. He was therefore dragged, with execrations and blows, to the priest's cloister.

The bishop readily divined that this was to be the place of his execution. He endeavored in every way to propitiate the fury of the people. He promised them large sums of money for his ransom; he offered to quit Laon and bind himself by the most solemn oaths never to return; and, finally, he prostrated himself on his knees before those men, whom, ten years before, he had beheld kneeling to him. While he was in this position, Bernard de Bruyères smote him on the head with an axe. As the blow was not instantly fatal, his executioners broke the bones of his legs in several places and pierced him slowly with a hundred wounds. Isengrin, seeing the pastoral ring on his hand, and not being able to unclench his dying grasp, cut off the finger that bore it, and thus obtained the jewel. Finally, the body was disrobed and thrown out in the street, where it



remained during the day exposed to the gaze, the raillery, and the curses of the inhabitants.\*

Thus fell the first victim of the first popular revolution. It was a revolution of a town, yet it may be likened to a revolution of a kingdom : for the interests and principles are the same, however large or small may be the circle they embrace.

At first, occurs the necessity of amelioration in the condition of the serfs of a city ; a necessity which is expressed by a humble petition for enfranchisement ;

Then follows the treaty, sworn to by master and serfs ;

Then, forgetfulness of this oath, and violation of its provisions, by the master ;

Then, popular reaction, attended by all the democratic crimes that follow in its train :

Such was a revolution of the twelfth century.

Six hundred years later, an entire nation experienced the same necessity of amelioration : she called for liberty ; not by the words of a few citizens, but by the voice of a whole people.

This people humbly claimed this liberty through their representatives. The claim was scoffed at by the higher orders of the nation ; and the representatives

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\* O GOD ! who can recount the many infamous jeers that the passers-by showered on the prostrate corse ; or with what quantity of stones and mud they covered it !—GUIBERT DE NOGENT.

were ejected from the hall of their deliberations ; but they united again at the Jeu de Paume.

The foundation of the National Assembly followed ;

Then, a treaty was prepared, establishing the rights, of the people and limiting the power of royalty ;

Then, the free acceptance of this treaty by Louis XVI. ;

Then, the oath of fidelity to the constitution of '91 ;

Next, the forgetfulness of the oath and the violation of the promise on the part of the King ; though the oath is faithfully observed by the people ;

And, finally, the popular reaction, which erected the guillotine in the Place-de-la-Revolution, January 21st, 1793 ; where Louis, the perjured traitor, perished.

Such was a revolution of the eighteenth century.

The only difference that we perceive in reviewing the *progress of Democracy* during these two revolutions is, that in the latter it advances with larger strides. It is no longer a city, but a nation, that rises ; it is no longer a bishop, assassinated by the *bourgeois* ; but a King, condemned by an entire people and beheaded by their executioner.

It was not until sixteen years after the murder of Bishop Gaudry, that is, in 1128, that the citizens of Laon obtained—not the ratification of their commune, for the name of commune was erased from

the new treaty as *horrible* and *execrable*, but — an *institution of peace*.\* During the interval, royalty had taken most bloody revenge on the insurgents. All citizens whomsoever, found with arms in their hands, were hung without ransom; and their bodies, left uninterred, became the prey of dogs and birds.†

By this treaty of peace, the municipal jurisdiction and the rates of taxes were established on the basis of the former charter; the remission of ancient forfeitures was also stipulated for; and permission was granted to those who had been banished to return to the city, saving and excepting thirteen citizens, viz.: Foulques, son of Bomard; Raoul de Cabricion; Ancelle, son-in-law of Lébert; Haymon, vassal of Léberd; Payen Seille; Robert; Rémy But; Maynard Dray; Raimbault de Soissons; Paque Osteloup; Ancelle Quatremaings; Raoul Gastines; and Jean de Molrain‡.

These are the obscure names of the first victims of the popular cause, the outlawed of the twelfth century, who stand at the head of that long list of proscriptions, that register of a thousand pages, the last

\* *Institutio pacis*,

† *Milvorum, corvorum et vulturum rapacitati pastum generalem exhibens, et patibulo affigi præcipiens*. — SUGERIUS, *de vita Ludovici Grossi regis*.

‡ Collection of the ordinances of the Kings of France, vol. XI., page 186.

of which, — written so recently that the ink is scarcely dry, — terminates with Prosper and Jeanne. The interval between the two events — the devotion and punishment of the twelve men of Laon, and of the two that finish the list of proscription — is no less than seven centuries ; yet it was the same principle that guided, and the same power that put down, the several victims. All sovereigns place the same interpretation on the word *Liberty*; and it is ever true that “*le roi ne lâche que quand le peuple arrache*” — the King never concedes until the people coerce.

Let us return to Louis-le-Gros; who conquered the nobles and was vanquished by the communes. He had now attained his fifty-ninth year, and for a length of time had suffered from the extreme corpulence to which he owed his surname. He was exhausted by his various expeditions, though still young in heart, firm in purpose, and ardent in the prosecution of his will; but he was forced to pause, groaning under his impotence, and frequently repeating the words “Alas! Alas! how wretched is man! the wisdom to know and the power to execute are seldom permitted to exist together!”

When he perceived that his end was approaching, he demanded to receive the sacrament and to confess himself publicly. The doors of his apartment were therefore thrown open; and when a large concourse of people had assembled, he divested himself of the government in favor of his son Louis;

confessed that he had ruled the nation unwisely ;\* placed the royal signet on his son's finger ; and required him to promise, under oath, that he would protect the Church of God, the poor and the orphans ; that he would respect the rights of all, and would hold no one a prisoner in his court. Louis then, in an audible voice, made the following profession of his religious faith.

“ I, Louis, a wretched sinner, do profess one only and true God ; the FATHER, the SON and the HOLY GHOST ; I confess but one person in this HOLY TRINITY, the only SON, consubstantial and co-eternal with God, his FATHER, who was incarnate in the womb of the most holy Virgin Mary ; who suffered, is dead, and was buried ; who arose the third day ; ascended into heaven, where he is seated at the right hand of God the FATHER ; and who shall come to judge the quick and the dead on the day of the great and last judgment. I believe that the Eucharist of his most sacred body is the same that he took in the womb of the Virgin Mary, and which he gave to his disciples that they might remain united and joined in him. I believe firmly, and I confess it with my mouth and heart, that this wine is the self-same holy blood which flowed from his side when he hung upon the Cross. And I desire that this viaticum, the most efficacious of all aid, may strengthen me in the hour

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\* SUGER, *Life of Louis-le-Gros*.

of death; and, by its invincible protection, defend me against all the powers of Hell."

A few days after this ceremony, he requested his attendants to spread a carpet on the floor and strew it with ashes in the form of a cross. He was then placed on it, and, in two hours, he expired, August 1st, 1137, having attained the sixtieth year of his age and the thirtieth of his reign. He was succeeded by Louis-le-Jeune, (*the Young*) Louis VII.

Just previous to the death of Louis, some ambassadors arrived at his court with the intelligence that William X., Duke of Aquitania, having died during a pilgrimage to the shrine of St. James, had bequeathed to him, as his King and lord suzerain, his daughter Eleonora, who was unmarried, together with the duchies of Aquitania and Guienne. Louis joyfully accepted the legacy and insisted that his son should espouse the wealthy orphan. Louis-le-Jeune immediately departed to fulfil his father's wishes, and was on his road to Bordeaux when the old King expired. He did not, however, receive the news of the event until he arrived at Poitiers; nor, when received, did he suffer it to retard his marriage, which was celebrated in presence of all the lords of Gascony, Poitiers and Saintonge.

After his marriage, the new King returned in haste from Bordeaux to Orleans, where he learned that the inhabitants of the latter city were endeavoring to establish a commune. "Faithful to his father's

policy, he boldly repressed," says the unknown author of his life,\* "these conspiracies, not without disaster to certain men."

Some years subsequent to this, Louis received intelligence that the Saracens had re-captured from the Crusaders the town of Edessa.† He convoked a large assembly at Vezelay, where a new Crusade was promptly determined on. His queen and himself received the Cross from the hands of St. Bernard, and they "departed pompously, surrounded by a royal retinue, the week after Pentecost, in the year 1147."‡

Before his departure, the King confided the government to Suger, who strenuously opposed this Crusade, and who, during its continuance, strove constantly to recall Louis to France, where he conceived his presence to be much more important than at Jerusalem. His entreaties to this effect became the more urgent when Robert de Dreux, the King's brother, abandoned the Crusade and returned to France: for, taking advantage of the King's absence, Robert, with the assistance of several prelates and a large

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\* The author of the *Life of Louis-le-Jeune* is entirely unknown. For a long time, the work was erroneously attributed to Suger: but this historical fragment extends to the year 1165, whereas Suger died January 12th, 1151.

† December 24th, 1144.

‡ *Life of Louis-le-Jeune*.

popular party,\* attempted to usurp the throne. The firmness and prudence of Suger, however, quelled the insurrection.

On this occasion, he wrote the following letter to the King:

“The disturbers of the public tranquillity have returned, while you, who are bound to defend your subjects, remain like a captive in a foreign land. Of what are you thinking, Sire, that you thus leave the flock confided to your care to the mercy of wolves? How can you conceal from yourself the perils with which the despoilers, who are in advance of you, threaten your dominions? You are no longer excusable for keeping yourself from us. Everything here claims your presence. We supplicate your highness; we entreat your pity, we appeal to the goodness of your heart, we conjure you by the faith which reciprocally binds the prince and his subjects, not to prolong your journey in Syria, beyond the festival of Easter, least a further delay render you guilty, in the sight of the LORD, of breaking the vow you made on receiving the crown. You will have reason, I think, to be satisfied with our conduct. We have placed in the hands of the Knight Templars† the money we have resolved to send you; moreover we have reimbursed to the Count de Vermandois the three thousand

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\* Life of Suger; by William Monk, of St. Denis.

† The order of the Temple was founded by Louis-le-Gros in 1118.



livres that he lent us for your service. Your people enjoy at the present a happy peace. We reserve for your return an account of the revenues of the fiefs tributary to you, and of the taxes and provisions for your household which we levy on your domains. You will find your mansions and your palaces in good condition from the care that we have taken to keep them in repair. I am now in the decline of life, but I can freely say that the occupations which I have undertaken for the love of God and from attachment to your person, have hastened on my old age. With respect to the queen, your wife, I am of the opinion that it is advisable to disguise the discontent she causes you until you return to your kingdom, when you can quietly deliberate on that and other subjects.”\*

We have presented this letter in detail, because such details illustrate history. Besides, the last sentence brings us to an event that had an important bearing on the destinies of the nation: viz., the divorce of Louis-le-Jeune and Eleonora of Aquitania.

During the sojourn of the royal pair in Palestine, an intimacy between the queen and a young Saracen had become a subject of scandal to the Crusaders. They conceived that her adulterous conversation with an enemy of the Church was an inauspicious preparation for the success which they besought God

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\* Guizot; *Notice sur Suger*.

to grant to their arms. Upon the King's return to France, therefore, and on the birth of a daughter of whose paternity he was doubtful, he proclaimed that the degree of consanguinity between himself and his wife should have been a bar to their union and was a proper ground for their divorce; and their separation took place, accordingly, on the 18th of March, 1152.\*

After repudiating Eleonora, the King restored to her Guienne and Poitou, although Suger strongly opposed the restitution; and, certainly, the act was more worthy of an honest man than of a politic sovereign. No sooner had Eleonora obtained possession of these two duchies, than she married Henry, count of Anjou and Duke of Normandy, bringing to him these domains as her marriage-portion. This Count, therefore, ascending the throne

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\* Therefore, Hugh, archbishop of Sens, summoned them both, viz., King Louis and Queen Eleonora, to his presence at Beaugency; whither, according to his injunction, they repaired on the Friday preceding Palm-Sunday. There were also assembled Samson, bishop of Rheims; Hugh, bishop of Rouen; the archbishop of Bordeaux, whose name I know not; \*\* some of their suffragans; and a great number of lords and barons of the kingdom of France. The relatives of the King now pronounced the oath, as they had promised to do, that there existed a near relationship between the king and queen; and their matrimonial contract was therefore dissolved. — *Life of Louis-le-Jeune*.

\*\* Geoffroy.

under the title of Henry II., found himself King of England; Duke of Normandy, Brittany, and Aquitania; and Count of Anjou, Poitou, Touraine, and Maine. Consequently, the result of this divorce was the introduction and establishment of a powerful foe in the very heart of the kingdom; and in future, the King of England could bring Frenchmen into the field to wage war against France.

Louis now espoused Constance, daughter of the King of Spain; but she died in giving birth to a daughter:\* and the King, fearing that France might cease to be governed by a prince of his own blood, contracted a third marriage with Adèle, daughter of Thibaut, Count de Blois, who crowned all his hopes by bearing him a son on the 22d of August, 1165.

This son was Philip Augustus.†

\* In 1160.

† Philip was surnamed *Augustus* by Rigord, or Rigot. This man was a Goth by birth as he himself says, that is to say, born in Languedoc\*\* where at first he followed the profession of medicine; but he afterward abandoned this employment and secluded himself in the Abbey of St. Denis, where he wrote the life of the King. He thus explains what signification he attaches to the name, Augustus; by which Philip is still known, although Guillaume Lebreton — who continued Rigord's

\*\* This name of Languedoc was not adopted until toward the commencement of the fourteenth century. This part of France was previously called Gothia, from the government of the West-Goths, which continued from 408 to 712; at which latter period it was overthrown by the invasion of the Arabs.

The narration of the unknown historian of Louis VII. here terminates, although it was not until the year 1181 that this monarch expired, "leaving," says Jean de Serre, "the leaven of a great woe to his posterity."

In addition to the events that we have recorded, there were many others of moment which distinguish the period embraced by the reign of Louis-le-Jeune. Among these, were the condemnation, by the council of Soissons, of the doctrines of Abelard; the recovery of the Justinian Code, found in Italy and brought to France, where it became the established law; the rise of the Papal and Imperial factions, known by the names of Guelph and Ghibelline; the prohibition of duelling for a debt less in amount than five sous; the foundation of the University of Paris; the establishment of the School of Medicine at Montpellier; and, finally, the controversy, relating

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history — always styles him Philip the Magnanimous. "But perhaps you will be amazed at the title of Augustus, which I give to the King at the commencement of this work. My reason for so doing is this. It has been customary for writers to bestow the name Augustus (from the verb *augco*, *auges*,) on the Cæsars who added to the dominions of the empire. Philip, therefore, is entitled to the name, for he enlarged the boundaries of the kingdom by the addition of Vermandois (which his predecessors for a length of time had lost) and also many other territories that greatly augmented the royal revenue. Furthermore, he was born in the month consecrated to Augustus (August) — that is, when the granaries and wine-presses overflow with temporal blessings."

to ecclesiastical immunities, between Henry II. and Thomas, archbishop of Canterbury, which ended in the assassination of the prelate.

Louis caused his son to be anointed and crowned during his own life; and the ceremony was performed at Rheims on All Saints' day in the year 1180, the prince being then fifteen years of age. Henry II., King of England, was present, and "humbly held one side of the crown on the head of the young King of France, in token of the submission that he owed him."

"In the same year," says his historian, "inflamed with holy zeal, he caused the Jews, on the 16th of March, to be seized in their synagogues throughout France and despoiled of their gold, their silver, and their garments, as they themselves had despoiled the Egyptians previous to their Exodus. But this was only a prelude to their banishment which, thanks be to God, soon followed this first warning."

In the month of April, 1182, Philip Augustus issued an edict of banishment against the Jews — granting them, however, a suspension of the execution of the sentence until Mid-Summer, during which interim they were permitted to sell moveables. But of their domains — "such as houses, fields, vineyards, presses, and other immoveables, the King reserved the ownership to himself and his successors upon the throne of France." \*

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\* RIGORD. *Life of Philip Augustus.*

In 1187, a dispute between Philip and Henry, led to a war between the two countries. At the consecration of the King of France, Henry had, by holding the crown on Philip's head, made a formal acknowledgment of vassalage; but this proved to have been a vain ceremony; for Philip had subsequently been unable to obtain from the young Count of Poitiers — Richard,\* son of Henry — that homage which he, the Count, owed him for his province. Besides, Philip claimed several castles from Henry; and particularly that of Gisors, which his sister Margaret had received as her marriage portion on espousing Henry's eldest son, Henry, and which, on the death of the latter without issue, should of right have reverted to France.

But Philip, finding his claims for homage and restitution all resisted, raised a numerous army in Berry, marched suddenly into Aquitania and laid siege to Châteauroux.

He had scarcely made this demonstration, however, when envoys arrived at the court of France to “announce with groans and tears that, in punishment of the sins of Christendom, Saladin,† King of Egypt and Syria, had invaded the possessions of the Christians in the East; that he had without pity massacred thousands; and that, pursuing his iniquitous

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\* Afterward known as Richard Cœur-de-Lion.

† Salah-Eddin.

course, he had, in a short time, subjugated the Holy City, Jerusalem, and all the promised land. Tyre, Tripoli, Antioch, and a few other fortresses, had alone resisted his assault."

This news caused a truce to be agreed on between Philip and Richard, in which it was stipulated that the adjustment of their private quarrels should be deferred until this battle of the Lord was fought. A new Crusade was therefore immediately undertaken. In the meantime, Henry of England died and Richard succeeded to the throne.

On St. John's day, 1190, Philip — having made his will — repaired, with a numerous retinue, to St. Denis, where he took the oriflamme from the altar;\* and received the garter and staff from the hands of William, archbishop of Rheims, together with the benediction of the nail, of the crown of thorns and of the arm of St. Simon. He thence repaired to Vezelay, where he took leave of his barons and placed his kingdom and his son Louis† under the

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\* It was an ancient custom for the Kings of France, previously to their commencing a war, to take a banner from the altar of the blessed St. Denis; to carry it with them as a safe-guard; and to place it in the front of the battle. The enemy were oft-times disheartened and took to flight on merely recognising this banner. — RIGORD. *Life of Philip Augustus.*

† He was born September 5th, 1187; and, consequently, at this time, was not yet three years old.

joint care and guardianship of Adèle, his mother, and his uncle William. This done, he departed for Genoa where the vessels and the requisite arms and equipments were prepared. Richard embarked from the port of Marseilles, and the two Kings arrived almost simultaneously at Messina.

The object of this Crusade — the reconquering of Jerusalem — was frustrated by the jealousy and rivalry existing between the two Kings.\* Richard took the island of Cyprus; and Philip, the city of St. John d'Acre: but the latter becoming suspicious of the King of England, by reason of some presents that had been exchanged between Richard and Saladin, convened his knights in secret council, apprized them of his wishes as to the regulation and disposition of the army, and took leave of them to return home. He set sail with a suite of two galleys only, which were prepared for him by a Genoese named Roux de Rulla, and, after a voyage of fifteen days, reached France a short time before Christmas.

But notwithstanding his departure from the Holy Land, his suspicions of Richard were not dispelled.

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\* The special cause of their misunderstanding was jealousy. Philip Augustus was eclipsed by Richard Cœur-de-Lion, "of character adventurous and courage rash, whose shadow caused the Saracen hosts to start; and whose corselet, on his return from the combat, bristled with arrows as a cushion does with pins." — VINISAUPE.



He received letters from the East informing him, says William Lebreton, "that the men of the nation of the *Assissins* had been sent by order of King Richard to kill him, (Philip) as they had just slain, near Acre, Conrad, the Marquis of Montserrat.\* Whereupon, the said King Philip created a very faithful body-guard, and almost always thenceforward carried in his hand a mace of brass or iron: his guard also carried clubs; a custom which is preserved until the present day. The King, being meanwhile very much troubled, sent messengers to the Old Man of the Mountain—King of the *Assissins*—to demand promptly and clearly the truth of this matter. In reply, the Old Man, by letters, assured the King that the rumors were false; and being thus assured of the facts, and despising, heartily, these deceitful reports, his spirit was no longer tormented by such dire suspicions.

"Nevertheless, there exists among the *Assissins* a creed detestable to God: for they believe that if, in obedience to their master, they kill a man, or commit any other crime, they do thereby immediately secure the salvation of their souls."

There is so much reference by our chroniclers—and especially those who have written of the Crusades—to the *Old Man of the Mountain* and his people,

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\* WALTER SCOTT has introduced this assassination at the close of his romance, "The Talisman."

*the Assassins*; and this reference is always so vague and unsatisfactory; that we think it our duty to give our readers a more particular account of these people. We borrow it from the Venetian traveller, Marco Polo, who lived one hundred years after Philip Augustus. He is the first author who speaks with any precision concerning this sect.

“Mulehet,” says he, “is the country where he who was called the Old Man of the Mountain formerly lived. This word, Mulehet, signifies, in the Saracen language, the place where heretics reside; and the inhabitants are styled Mulehetics, that is to say, apostates from their religion, as are the *Patarins*\* among the Christians.† The Old Man was named *Aloadin*.‡ In a lovely valley between two very high mountains he had planted all manner of trees and flowers;§ and in the midst of the extensive enclosure were built palaces and pavilions, decorated with golden tapestry, pictures and silk-embroidered furniture. Fountains of wine, of milk, of honey and of the purest water glided through pipes and flowed

\* Albigenses.

† We shall see, hereafter, that the Assassins, the Ismailis, the Batenians and the Arsacides — for these are the four names given to them indifferently — were in fact a dissenting sect.

‡ Allah-Eddin; who was the last Emir but one of the Ismailis of Persia.

§ Marco Polo is in error here. These gardens were planted by Hassan Ben-Sabbah.

out in rivulets through these palaces ; which, also, were tenanted by beautiful females, skilled in the art of singing and of performing on all sorts of musical instruments ; and skilled especially in those seductive arts most captivating to men. The Old Man's purpose in creating this beautiful place may be thus explained :

“Mahomet had proclaimed that all who obeyed his commands here, should dwell for ever in Paradise, where were to be found lovely women, streams of milk and honey, and all that is delightful in this world. The Old Man, ambitious to be known as a Prophet, and desirous to be thought the companion of Mahomet, proclaimed that he, too, could grant an entrance into Paradise unto whom he chose. The place we have described was so guarded at its extremity by an impregnable castle that none could gain admission by force, nor, indeed, could it be entered at all, except by a secret passage through the castle. Being thus prepared, the Old Man held audiences with those young men of his court who were from twelve to twenty years of age, and who seemed well adapted to the profession of arms. He talked to them of Mahomet's Paradise, and of his power to grant admission to it : and, when it pleased him, he would give to ten or a dozen of these youths a certain drink which stupified them.\* In this condition they were

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\* It was from the use of this beverage that they derived the

transported into different apartments of the palaces we have mentioned. When they awakened, they found themselves in the Paradise they had heard described. They were surrounded by females who sang, played upon instruments, and enticed them by blandishments and caresses ; and who also presented to them wines, viands and fruits of the most exquisite flavor.

“ At the expiration of five or six days, the Old Man caused the same stupifying beverage to be again administered to these young men ; and during their torpor they were taken back under his directions. As soon as they recovered from the effects of the potion, they were brought before him and interrogated as to where they had been. ‘By your kindness, we have been in Paradise,’ they replied : and they proceeded to relate, in presence of the whole court, all that they had seen. Their recital naturally excited a desire, in the minds of all, to experience a similar felicity. The Old

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name of Assissins. Writers who are interested in etymological research have disputed much about the origin of the name ; but this is the most plausible of their explanations: The plant of which this intoxicating potion was made, was a species of hemp called *haschich* meaning *herb*, as if hemp was the herb *par excellence*. This Arabic word, in the plural, forms, *haschischin* ; and the corrupted words *heissessini*, *assissini*, *assassini*, have finally settled into *assassin* which has naturally found its way into our language with the narrations of the authors of the twelfth and thirteenth centuries.

Man then proceeded to repeat the commands of the Prophet and to promise an entrance into Paradise to all those who would faithfully serve him. Indeed, he so wrought upon them, that those whom he commanded to die in his service, esteemed themselves most happy. All his enemies, of whatever station, were now in peril of death from his Assissins, who, themselves had no dread of death, provided they faithfully executed the orders of their master. They voluntarily exposed themselves to the greatest dangers, counting as nothing the loss of their present lives. It may well be supposed that a sovereign having the absolute control of such men, soon began to be regarded as a tyrant. The foes of such a monarch could not hope to escape death."

The religion of the Assissins—such as it was—originated under the following circumstances.

As Mahomet died without appointing a successor, it was not until after the reigns of the Caliphs Abou-Bekr, Omar and Osman, that Ali (the cousin and son-in-law of the Prophet) obtained the sovereign power. In the interim, however, a class of Mussulmans, disowning the monarch *de facto*, claimed that Ali, alone, was the legitimate sovereign. It may easily be supposed that, when Ali came into the possession of the supreme power, this class was honored with his special favor and protection. But after his death, the nation, collectively, refused to allow his sons to succeed him: this same class, therefore, separated themselves from the rest of the

Mussulmans and chose from among the descendants of Ali a certain number of sacred chiefs to whom they gave the title of Imaums. In the course of time, dissensions arose about the legitimacy of the Imaum; and soon the Fatimite Caliphs of Egypt, who professed to be descended from one of these Imaums, averred that they, alone, were in possession of the Imaumate, and consequently had the sole right to transmit it. They even maintained that they were the incarnate Divinity; and, by this profession, placed themselves above the infirmities and duties of humanity. Nevertheless, they did not arrogate this latter pretension except among the adepts of whom they were sure and whom they admitted into their secret conclaves. It was from these assemblies held in Egypt, that Hassan, son of Sabbah, and the founders of the sect of the Assissins and Ismailis drew their doctrine: consequently, they were partisans of the Fatimite Caliphs, the last of whom was strangled by Saladin.\* They had

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\* From this moment, Saladin was exposed to the Ismailian poignards, and was several times in great danger of assassination. The first attempt on his life, made by the followers of the Old Man of the Mountain, occurred at the siege of Aleppo. The Assissins mingled themselves with the Sultan's army; and one day while he was seated, examining the works of the castle of Ezaz, in the environs of Aleppo, one of these desperate men threw himself upon him and wounded him in the cheek with a knife. The fanatic had already felled Saladin to the ground when he was slain by an emir. Immediately,

two domiciles : one, in Persia, near Cazouin or Casbin ; the other, in the mountains of Libanus, where they occupied the fortress of Messyat. It was to this latter place that Philip Augustus sent deputies to communicate with their chief, who was named Sinan.

Meanwhile, Richard, disquieted at the departure of Philip, confided to his nephew, Henry of Champagne, a young prince of rare merit, the command of his army and the care of all the territory that the Christians then occupied in Palestine, and embarked for England. His voyage, however, was disastrous, and his vessel was driven upon the shores of Italy between Aquileia and Venice. He, with a few of his suite, barely escaped perishing.

When the news of Richard's shipwreck transpired, a certain Count named Maynard de Zara, joined by some of the people of the country, went in pursuit of the King with the intention of making him prisoner—in defiance of the usage of all Christian nations, which granted to every pilgrim wearing the cross a free passage through their dominions. Richard was forced to flee before his assailants, leaving eight of his knights in their hands. When he arrived at the archbishopric of Saltsbourg and

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another darted from the ranks and perished in the same manner ; and, finally, a third followed the example, and shared the fate of his brethren.

was near the village of Freysinghen, Frederick de Saint-Sauve pursued him with a similar hostile purpose and made six of his remaining knights prisoners. The King, now obliged to flee by night, attended by only three men, directed his steps toward Austria. Leopold, who was a Duke and a relation of the Emperor, being apprized of Richard's situation, caused all the passes of the country to be guarded with soldiers. Richard was therefore forced to wander by stealth through a strange land, and he had proceeded in this manner as far as the environs of Vienna, when he was discovered and taken in a small cabin where he had secreted himself. Leopold took from him all the valuable things he possessed; and, in the month of December following, delivered him up to the Emperor, who imprisoned him for a year and a half in defiance of honor and justice. Richard eventually obtained his liberty by the payment of two hundred thousand marks of silver.\*

The war between Philip and Richard, suspended by their departure for the Holy Land, was renewed on the return of the latter to England. It continued, with varied fortune, until 1199, when Richard died in the manner thus described by William Lebreton :

“In the year of the Incarnation 1199, God visited the land of France; for King Richard was killed, in

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\* RIGORD. *Life of Philip Augustus.*



the first week of the Passion of our LORD, in the territory of Limoges, where he was besieging the castle of Chalus, to gain possession of a treasure said to have been discovered there.\* A knight shot an arrow that wounded the King in the shoulder, and he died of the wound in the course of a few days."

Richard was succeeded by his brother John, sur-named Lack-land.

This name brings to mind two important historical facts: the murder of Arthur; and the summons of Philip Augustus to John Lack-land to appear before the court of Peers:† a summons to which the King of England made no response, but which was followed by a solemn judgment, confiscating all his

\* The treasure, in contending for which he met his death, was said to be an Emperor, seated with his wife, his sons, and his daughters at a table—the figures and the table being all made of the purest gold. An inscription indicated the age in which the personages lived. — RIGORD. *Life of Phil. Aug.*

† In the year of our LORD 1202, John, King of England, took prisoner Arthur, Count of Brittany, the son of John's eldest brother, Geoffrey, and heir to the kingdom. This occurred near Mirabeau, in Poitiers; and the King followed up this act of oppression by secretly murdering the young prince. The barons made accusation of the crime against him to the King of France—John being his vassal. As, after numerous citations, he refused to appear, he was, by the sentence of Philip's peers, despoiled of the Duchy of Aquitania and all the territory he possessed in the kingdom of France. — *Des Gestes glorieux des Français de 1202 et 1311.*

dominions in France.\* Chateaubriand observes that this was the first political sentence passed by this high court. We have been witnesses of the last.

After Richard's death, the war between England and France was continued with equal animosity, but with very different success. Philip had no longer to contend with the fierce hardihood of the Lion-heart. And three years after Richard's death, Philip had recaptured Falaise, Domfront, Saint-Michel, Evreux, Sées, Coutances, Bayeux, Lisieux, and Rouen.

On St. John's day, in the year 1204, the King of France made a solemn entry into the capital of Normandy — which had been severed from the French crown for three hundred and sixteen years; and which, two hundred and fifteen years afterward, was again to be wrested from France by Henry V. of England.

When the intelligence of the taking of Rouen reached Verneuil and Argues, they, too, surrendered; and they were the last towns in Normandy that held out for King John.

After the submission of this province, Philip marched into Aquitania, took Poitiers and laid siege to La Rochelle, Chinon, and Loches. John, meantime, landed at La Rochelle with a numerous army, proceeded to Angers, which surrendered to

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\* It was on account of this confiscation that the name of *Lack-land* was given, in derision, to John.

him ; and, having detached the Viscount de Thouars from his alliance with Philip, he took a position in front of the French troops.

Every thing seemed now ready for a decisive action ; when, suddenly, the hostile Kings agreed upon a two years' truce, on the twenty-sixth of October, 1206.

Philip took advantage of this truce to commence another Crusade, not against the Mussulmans but against the Christians : for, as he could not vanquish the infidels abroad, he was eager to exterminate the heretics at home.

The details of this war for religion are so well known, that we shall merely cite two examples of the cruelty and fury with which it was waged.

The army of the Crusaders arrived before Beziers and summoned the Catholic inhabitants to deliver up the heretics, or evacuate the place. This demand was promptly refused, whereupon an assault was made and the town taken. The leaders of the expedition then inquired of the Abbé de Citeaux how the Catholics could be distinguished from the Albigenses during the massacre ? “ *Kill them all,*” replied the legate ; “ *God will recognise his own !*”

The unknown author of the history of the war of the Albigenses, speaking of this event, says, “ Here was done the most cruel massacre that was ever done in all the world besides ; for neither old nor young were spared, nor even the sucking babe : all

were butchered. Those of the citizens who were able to do so, retreated into the large cathedral of St. Nazaire ; but here they found a grave instead of a refuge. The clerks of the church had received orders to ring the bells when all the inhabitants were slain ; but no bell was heard, for the soldiers had so accomplished their work that neither priest nor clerk remained alive. All had passed under the edge of the sword : not one escaped."

A short time after this, Simon de Montfort, a captain of the King's army, took several castles ; and, having made prisoners of their inhabitants, he collected them all in one body, put out their eyes, and sent them to Narbonne under the conduct of one of their own number whom he had deprived of but one eye — sparing the other that he might act as a guide.\*

This Crusade against the Albigenses, commenced by Philip Augustus, in 1206, was not terminated until 1245, during the reign of Louis IX. Innocent III. ; St. Dominick ; Raymond, the Count of Toulouse ; Simon and Amaury, Counts of Montfort, were the principal authors of this bloody drama of which we here take leave and return to the affairs of France.

Here we find, in 1214, Philip placed between two enemies : John, who had taken advantage of Philip's

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\* DON VALSSET ; *History of Languedoc.*

war with the Albigenses to obtain possession of Anjou ; and a new antagonist, induced by the King of England to become such, — Otho II., Emperor of Germany. The latter advanced toward Tournay with a numerous army, collected principally from Hainault, Brabant and Flanders ; and, true to the prejudices he inherited, he showed himself ready to aid the foes of the national party, now represented by the Kings of the race of Hugh Capet.

Philip marched to repel this invasion, and encountered the Germans on the twenty-seventh of July, 1214 : and as this battle has become identified with the national remembrances of France, we shall give a more extended account of it than our limits would seem to warrant.

Some days previous to the battle, the German army received a reinforcement of five brave knights with their attendant men-at-arms, sent to the aid of Otho by his ally, John of England. These knights were, the Count of Boulogne, a liegeman of the King of France ; a man whom Philip had raised from a simple squire to the rank of knight : the Count of Salisbury, who had now for the third time crossed the Channel to encounter the knights of France : Ferrand, Count of Flanders, who, in the anticipated division of France, had selected for his portion the city of Paris : the Duke of Brabant, so powerful in men and lands that Otho had espoused his daughter : and lastly, the Duke of Limburg,

with many German lords and counts in his suite, whose names, at that time illustrious, are now obliterated from the records of fame.

Philip departed from Peronne, on the day after the festival of St. Magdelene. He entered the dominions of the Count Ferrand, sword in hand, burning all the villages that lay in his route; so that the French army arrived before Tournay as if borne on wings of fire. This city had just been reconquered from the Flemings by the Count de Saint-Paul and by a very brave man of sound wisdom and judgment, the bishop of Seulis, a monk of the hospital of Jerusalem who never laid aside the dress of his order, and who for this reason was called friar Garin. The city, therefore, opened its gates to receive the King, who encamped his army around its walls, and sojourned there several days.

Otho now advanced as far as a château called Mortain about six miles from Tournay, and Philip proposed to attack him there; but the French barons disapproved the plan because the army would be obliged to pass a narrow and dangerous defile in their route. Philip yielded to this counsel, and determined to retire upon the frontiers of Hainault and devastate the land as he had done in Flanders.

Accordingly, on the twenty-seventh of July, he broke up his encampment and advanced upon Lille, where he intended to pass the night; thus presenting his flank to the enemy. But Otho, on learning

the movement of the French, immediately prepared to fall upon their rear. Philip detached friar Garin and the Viscount de Melun with a body of light-troops to observe the enemy, and they took post on an elevated spot of ground about three miles in the rear of the army, whence they saw the entire German force advancing in order of battle. The Viscount resolved to maintain his position for a time, to retard the enemy's progress, and Garin hastened to the King to apprise him that Otho was assuredly on the march and evidently desirous of battle, as his infantry were placed in advance of the cavaliers. Philip ordered a halt and consulted his barons; but they almost unanimously advised him to continue his route until they should arrive at a more favorable spot for an encounter. He consented to this, and, in about an hour, arrived at the bridge of Bovines, between Cisoing and a place then called *Sanghin*.

The greater part of the army had crossed the bridge; and Philip, wearied with the heat and the march, had thrown off his arms and seated himself under a tree near a church dedicated to St. Peter, when messengers arrived from the Viscount de Melun to say that he was attacked by the enemy and could not sustain himself without reinforcements.

Philip immediately entered the church and made a short prayer for the success of his troops: then, assuming his arms, he vaulted on his steed with a face as joyous as if he were bound to a feast, and

drawing his sword, shouted, in a voice audible to half the army, "to arms, warriors! to arms!"

At this shout, the trumpets sounded, and the soldiers that had passed the bridge wheeled rapidly and returned. They paused a few moments for the oriflamme to be carried to the front—that magic standard which assured the army of the protection of St. Denis, and which in every battle took precedence even of the royal banner: but, as there was a delay in its coming forward, and the emergency was pressing, the King called to his side Galon de Montigny, bearer of the standard blazoned with fleurs-de-lys that always announced, by its presence, the presence of the King, and both of them, putting spurs to their horses, rushed to the head of the rear ranks—which, by the recent evolution, had become the vanguard—and thus took post in the very front of the battle.

The Germans, supposing that the King was still on the other side of the bridge, were at first discomposed on seeing him appear with the banner of France; but, soon recovering, they extended themselves along the right of the plain and, elongating their flank toward the West, took possession of the only rise of ground in the vicinity. But, by so doing, they brought the sun directly in their faces; and, as if God himself espoused the cause of France, its rays this day were intensely brilliant. Philip, profiting by the error, spread his own line along this im-



mense expanse of the plain, directly opposite to the enemy, so that his men had the sun at their backs. For an instant the two armies remained motionless in face of each other and separated by the distance of but an arrow's flight. In the centre of the French line, and a little in advance of the ranks, was King Philip, easily recognised by the golden crown which surmounted his helmet. The flower of his chivalry was with him: Barthélemy de Roy, a man venerable for age and wisdom; Gauthier-le-Jeune; Guillaume de Barres; Pierre de Mauvoisin; Girard Scroph; Etienne de Longchamps; Guillaume de Mortemar; Jean de Rouvray; Guillaume de Garlande; and Henri, Count de Bar, young in years but old in judgment; distinguished alike for his bravery and his beauty, he had succeeded his father, who was first cousin to the King, in the office and dignity of Count. All these, and many more illustrious men trained to arms, had voluntarily placed themselves around the King, as the post of danger and honor: for they well knew that wherever Philip and the banner of France were, there would be the thickest of the fight.

On the opposite side, the Emperor Otho could not be descried, being hid by the dense ranks of his troops. His presence, however, was certified by his standard—a gilded eagle surmounting a dragon attached to a very long lance and placed upon a car. He was supported by Bernard de Hostemale, Count Otho of Tecklemburg, Count Conrad of Dorth-

mund, Girard de Rauderade, Hugh de Boves, and the Count de Boulogne, well assured that he could rely on their bravery.

King Philip, as the battle was about to commence, raised his hand signifying that he wished to speak. Every one was immediately silent, and he pronounced these words with an audible voice :

“All our hope, all our confidence is placed in God. King Otho and his army, who are the enemies and despoilers of Holy Church, have been excommunicated by our lord the Pope. Their wages are coined from the tears of the poor, the pillage of the Church and the spoils of the abbeys and their inmates. But we are Christians. We enjoy the communion and the blessing of Holy Church ; for, although sinners, we are united to the Church of God, and we defend, according to our ability, the liberties of the clergy. We should therefore take courage and expect divine mercy from Him who, notwithstanding our iniquities, will grant us the victory over His and our enemies.”

The knights then demanded the King's benediction. Philip raised his hands, letting his sword hang by the chain that fastened it to his wrist ; those who were mounted, bowed to the necks of their steeds, those on foot fell upon their knees, and the blessing was pronounced by the King—who, alone, in the midst of an army occupying a space of

forty thousand paces,\* raised his eyes toward God, as if he drew from heaven the words he uttered on earth.

After this, the trumpets sounded along the French line and the chaplains and priests began to sing the 143d Psalm: "Blessed be the Lord, my strength, which teacheth my hands to war and my fingers to fight," "All sang it as they best could," says William Lebreton, who took part in this pious concert, "for tears streamed down their cheeks and sobs mingled with their strains."

Notwithstanding the eagerness of the King and the knights around him for the combat, it did not commence with them, but with the right wing, between the men of Count Ferrand and friar Garin. The bishop did not himself fight, on account of his dress; but he was sustained by Eudes, Duke of Burgundy; Gaucher, Count de Saint-Paul; John, Count of Beaumont; Mathieu de Montmorenci; and more than a hundred and eighty knights of Champagne. These champions, with their men, had been formed into a single battalion by the bishop, who ordered to the rear certain soldiers of the front rank whose courage and ardor were doubtful, and replaced them with those on whom he could fully rely. "The field,"

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\* "*Quaran'e mille pas.*" This is a manifest error, 40,000 French paces being equivalent to nearly *forty miles*; but the translator has neither the means nor the authority to correct it.

he said to them, "is vast, my noble knights; extend yourselves in a line across the plain, lest the enemy enclose you. No knight must make a buckler of his fellow, but each must present himself singly and boldly to the foe." So saying, the bishop, by the advice of the Count de Saint-Paul, sent forward one hundred and fifty men-at-arms on horseback to commence the attack, that the noble knights might find the enemy somewhat disordered when they came to the charge.

The Flemings, who, on the other side, were the most eager for the fight, were indignant that men-at-arms, instead of knights, should have been despatched to commence the attack; they awaited the arrival of their assailants without moving from their position; and this first assault terminated in the destruction of almost all the horses of the French men-at-arms; and many of the riders were wounded, though only two were killed. The dismounted cavaliers immediately formed themselves into infantry—for they were brave men from the valley of Soissons, and fought as valiantly on foot as on horseback.

Two knights now advanced from the German line, and, putting their lances in rest, dashed through the company of men-at-arms and appeared in front of the French army, without taking heed of those whom they had overthrown and trodden down in their charge. These knights were Gauthier de Ghistelle and Buridan, renowned for their prowess, incapable of fear, and who regarded war as a pas-

time. They were instantly joined by a third knight, named Eustache de Maquilin, who followed their route, shouting in a haughty tone, "Death to the French!" These three—themselves knights—disdained to combat with any but knights.

To meet these men who now, by their position, defied the army of France, Pierre de Remy and two other knights sprang forward, and the six warriors rushed upon each other with the greatest fury. Their lances were shattered at the first shock, and they then drew their swords and renewed the combat. Neither party had gained any advantage, when the returning body of dismounted men-at-arms surrounded and made prisoners Gauthier and Buridan; while Eustache de Maquilin, who had not ceased crying "Death to the French!" was attacked by an athletic man, armed only with a knife. Notwithstanding the blows which this knight showered with his sword upon his hardy assailant, the latter succeeded in grappling with him, clasped him tightly with one arm around his neck, and threw him backward on the horse's croup. He then forced open the knight's helmet, thrust the knife between his chin and his corselet and inflicted a mortal wound first in his neck, and afterward in his breast. "Thus," says William Lebreton, "he who had so insolently shouted 'Death to the French!' himself suffered death from the hand of a Frenchman."

At this time, some slight confusion was observable

in the German ranks, as they were preparing to move to the assistance of their three champions. Gaucher, Count de Saint-Paul, perceiving that the moment to charge had arrived, disposed a body of chosen knights in the form of a wedge, placed himself at the forward and pointed extremity of the mass, and all simultaneously rushed onward with the cry, "Champagne! France!" Impelled by the great strength of the horses, this wedge of iron was forced into the very heart of the Flemish battalions, and the Count de Saint-Paul traversed their whole line, giving and receiving numberless blows, killing, indifferently, men and horses, but not pausing to make prisoners. Having gained the enemy's rear, he deployed his men into a curved line, renewed the charge, and, surrounding a large number, dragged them in his fierce career toward the French army as a fisherman draws his net to the shore.

This first assault on the part of the French, was followed by a second under the command of the Viscount de Melun, the Count de Beaumont, Mathieu de Montmorenci, Michel de Harnes, Hugues de Malaunaye and the Duke of Burgundy himself. As this body of troops was disposed differently from that led by Gaucher, the enemy was able to offer a more protracted resistance to the charge, and an admirable contest ensued, sword to sword, hand to hand, man to man. The Duke of Burgundy was the first who was unhorsed. He was borne to the earth by

the thrust of a lance and his steed was slain. The Burgundians in an instant surrounded their prostrate leader and formed for him a rampart of their bodies; and, as he was only bruised by his fall, he speedily recovered himself and mounted another horse. He now rushed anew upon the enemy and struck each Fleming that he encountered, as if upon each in particular he would avenge the death of his steed. During this time, the Viscount de Melun, after the manner of Gaucher de Saint-Paul, had twice pierced through the enemy's ranks. Hugues de Malaunaye, dismounted like many others, had collected together his foot-soldiers and fought, on foot, at their head. And Michel de Harmes, his shield, corslet and thigh-piece pierced by a Flemish lance, was nailed to his saddle and his horse; so that the steed and rider had fallen on their side, and the lance remained upright, swaying to and fro like the mast of a vessel.

In the meantime, the Count de Saint-Paul, exhausted more by the blows he had given than by those he had received, retired somewhat from the field of carnage to gain a moment's rest, when he beheld one of his knights surrounded by the enemy and about to be slain, as he would not surrender. As this knight was very valiant and was much beloved by the Count, he determined to rescue him, although the attempt seemed nearly desperate. In order, however, to pierce the dense array of foemen with the least danger to himself, the Count suffered

his sword to hang from his wrist by its chain, bent himself forward to his horse's neck, clung firmly to the steed with both hands, and, pressing its flanks with his spurs, he bore down upon the Flemings, burst through their ranks and reached the knight. Then rising in his stirrups, he grasped his sword with both hands and, swinging it around his head, cut down all within his reach, both man and horse. In this manner he enlarged the circle within the mass of iron that was stifling the knight. Then, both of them pressing against each other's sides, by a simultaneous movement darted forward, overturning all that opposed their progress, and returned in safety to their own battalion. Those who were witnesses of this feat of arms affirm that for an instant the Count de Saint-Paul was in imminent danger, as he was struck by twelve lances at once, but his horse was not borne down, nor was he raised from his saddle.

About the time that the battle commenced with the right wing, the men of the communes, who in the march of the army had formed the vanguard, and who, on hearing of the approach of the enemy, had retraced their steps and re-crossed the bridge — arrived on the field, bearing the oriflamme. Having descried the banner of the fleurs-de-lys which indicated the royal presence, they compelled the knights to make way, and threw themselves between Philip and the Emperor's army. They were the men of Corbeil,



Amiens, Beauvais, Compeigne, and Arras ; all unimpeachably brave, but, being unprotected by armor, their success in battle could not equal that of the knights sheathed in iron.

The German knights, aware that these men were comparatively defenceless, rushed upon and slaughtered them like sheep. They of course gave way at all points, and the German knights were soon in view of the King of France ; indeed, the Duke de Boulogne was for an instant confronted with him—but, recognising his sovereign, he lowered his lance in token of respect and turned aside to attack Robert, Count de Dreux.

The knights who surrounded Philip pushed forward at once to meet the Germans ; and, in their eagerness, forbore to consider that they must pass over the bodies of the communes to reach the enemy. They dashed on, therefore, over all intervening obstacles, and the advancing foes were arrested in their progress as by a wall.

Otho, finding it impossible to reach the King through this phalanx of knights, detached a party of infantry in pursuit of the men of the communes ; and when they had driven these routed troops back, and become mingled with them, they suddenly wheeled, marched upon Philip's rear and surrounded him and the few knights of his suite before he perceived that they were enemies. Immediately, Galon de Montigny, who bore the standard of France,

uttered a loud cry of distress, lowering and raising the banner to show that the King was in danger. The German infantry pressed upon Philip and dragged him to the ground with their hooked lances; they then thrust at him with their pikes; but, happily his armor was too well tempered to be pierced in front. At this juncture, Peter Tristan jumped from his horse, threw himself before the King and with his sword severed the heads from the lances of the infantry. Five or six other knights followed his example, and, with their combined efforts, dispersed and killed the assailants; while the King, whom God had preserved from injury, sprang lightly on another horse. At that instant, one of his bravest knights, named Etienne de Longchamp, rolled dead at his feet, having been wounded through the visor of his helmet by the stroke of a dagger: for the enemy, in this battle, made use for the first time, of a weapon entirely unknown to the French: it was a long and narrow blade with three edges, equally sharp at each angle from the point to the hilt.

The danger that Philip had just escaped, served only to augment his courage. He rushed into the midst of his faithful knights, preceded by Galon de Montigny who bore the royal banner, and shouted—“*Hola! knights and men-at-arms! let the King pass!*” At these words, every rank opened; and Philip, whom the Emperor supposed to have been killed, or at least made prisoner, appeared again in front of his army.

Otho's knights now began to fall back ; for the French, animated by their King, charged desperately upon them and penetrated into the immediate presence of the Emperor. In fact, Pierre Mauvoisin seized his horse by the bridle, but as, owing to the crowd that pressed around, he was unable to force him off a prisoner, Girard Scropha aimed a dagger at his breast. The excellence of his armor resisted the stroke, and Scropha repeated it : but the weapon glanced to the head of Otho's horse, passed through the eye into the brain, and there remained so firmly wedged, that the knight could not withdraw it, though he essayed to do so with both hands.

The horse, mortally wounded, reared, and by that movement forced the bridle from Pierre Mauvoisin's grasp ; then, turning toward the German line, it bore its rider among his own soldiers with a speed and frenzy that nothing could resist. The Emperor thus turned his back upon the French and fled from the fight, abandoning his standard to the victors. At sight of this, Philip raised his sword, exclaiming, "I swear to you on my word, my knights, that you will not see his face again to-day." And, indeed, Otho's wounded steed fell at a distance of about five hundred yards ; another was brought him, which he mounted ; but, instead of returning to re-animate his men, he continued his flight in the opposite direction.

Nevertheless, the knights whom, for their approved valor, he had chosen to attend in his suite, sustain-

ed their reputation, and were as faithful to his cause after his base retreat as before. They threw themselves between the French knights and their retreating sovereign, and the combat was at once renewed. These brave men were Bernard de Hostemale, Count Otho of Tecklemburg, Count Conrad of Dorthmund, Gerard de Rauderade, and the Count of Boulogne.

Fortune, however, decided in favor of the French, and these knights, with the exception of the last, were all made prisoners, after having many times exchanged their lances and broken their swords to the hilt. The chariot bearing the Emperor's standard was forthwith shattered to pieces, the dragon was broken, and the eagle, with its wings plucked off, was brought to the King.

Meanwhile, the ranks of Otho's army were rapidly diminishing. The Dukes of Louvain and Limburg, Hugh de Boves and others, with their troops of fifties and hundreds, abandoned the fight as fast as their horses could carry them. The Count de Boulogne remained alone upon the field. His troop of eighty knights, early in the action, formed themselves into a hollow square, two men deep, and accompanied the Count wherever he moved, that, when exhausted or hard pressed, he might retire within their ranks, as into a moving tower or fortress, to recover himself; whence, after a few moments, he could sally out and renew the fight. This band of

eighty men was now reduced to six ; but, with desperate valor, they held in check six times their own number of the French, striking and hewing down all who approached the Count — for seven hours of combat had not sufficed to weary their iron nerves. Probably they would much longer have continued the strife, had not a brave soldier, by name Pierre de Tourelle, whose horse they had slain, glided like a serpent between their horses' feet, and in this manner approached the Count without being discovered : then, crawling under the Count's horse, he plunged his sword up to the hilt in its belly. One of the knights, perceiving the occurrence, seized the wounded horse by the bridle, and, putting his own to a gallop, dragged the Count unwillingly from the field, while the remaining five covered their retreat. But two brothers, Quenon and Jean de Condune, made a detour and attacked the Count from one side. They immediately beat down the knight who led his horse, and at the same moment, the horse fell and the Count was thrown and entangled in the animal's trappings. Hugh and Gautier Desfontaines with Jean de Rouvray now came up and disputed with Quenon and Jean de Condune for the possession of the Count. During this time Jean de Nivelle and his retainers also arrived. He was a knight of tall stature and handsome face, but his courage and heart did not tally with the beauty of his person, for throughout this battle he had not yet fought with any one. How-

ever, he now contended with the rest to induce the belief that he had a share in the Count's capture : and his retainers had already drawn the Count from beneath his horse and were bearing him off when the bishop of Senlis approached. The Count, on seeing the bishop, held out to him what remained of his sword and surrendered himself on the sole condition that his life should be spared. It was fortunate for him that the bishop arrived as he did ; for a young man, named Comot, to whom the Count had refused to surrender, because the youth was not a noble, was endeavouring to slay him : he had already cleft his helmet with a sword-cut, and was about to stab him beneath his corslet. All the bishop's authority was requisite to pluck the Count out of the hands of this furious soldier. The bishop having prevailed, however, the prisoner stood upon his feet without further molestation : but at this moment, perceiving Arnoult d'Oudenarde, a renowned knight, who was hastening to his assistance with some men-at-arms, he feigned to be unable to sustain himself, and sank back upon the ground, waiting for the rescue. But his captors forced him to mount a horse, and led him toward the French lines. Arnoult and his followers were taken prisoners.

Philip now took a survey of the vast plain which, one hour before, had been occupied by the German army,—but that army had vanished like a cloud of smoke. All were taken, put to flight, or slain

excepting a corps of Brabançons, consisting of about seven hundred men whom Otho had placed in front of his army for a rampart, and who, like a rampart, remained immoveable. Philip, amazed at so much valor in men of the communes, sent against them Thomas de Saint-Valery (a man of birth, commendable for his virtues and somewhat distinguished for his learning) with fifty cavaliers and two thousand infantry, summoning them to surrender. On their stubborn refusal to comply, Thomas de Valery attacked them and massacred almost the whole troop. This last point of resistance being overcome, nothing remained to arrest the progress of the French army: but the mighty voice of Philip forbade them to pursue the enemy to a greater distance than one mile—as night was approaching and they were ignorant of the country; moreover, he was fearful that his prisoners might escape unless carefully guarded. Indeed, this latter consideration caused him great uneasiness, and he gave the signal for the trumpets to sound the recall.

The victory was complete and its results were of vast importance. It extinguished all hope entertained by the Germans, of regaining the influence over France which they possessed during the reigns of the men of the conquering race: and it induced John of England, who was then in Poitou, to conclude a truce for five years with King Philip.

This truce was signed at Chinon, in the month of

September, 1214 : and France, like an eagle shaking its wings, found herself relieved by one battle of two armies, that assailed the two extremities of her dominion.

Soon after this, a civil war broke out in England between King John and his nobles. The latter called to their assistance young Louis, son of Philip Augustus, who, however, was at that time engaged in a war with the Albigenses, and could send them only a few good knights with a considerable number of armed men ; but he promised to follow these in person as soon as he was able. And at the end of a year he made good this promise notwithstanding his father's prohibition ; who was resolved to observe the truce, and who, finding his commands disregarded, confiscated the property of his son and of the barons who accompanied him to England.

Meanwhile, Louis entered London ; besieged and took Rochester and Canterbury ; joined to his standard the King of Scotland and William Longsword brother of King John, and forced his antagonist to retreat beyond the Humber, in the North country, where he soon after died.\* Louis received the

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\* William formed this alliance because some one on whom he could rely informed him that while he, William, was a prisoner in France, King John, disregarding the natural alliance between two brothers, had committed incest with his wife. — GUILLAUME LEBRETON ; *Vie de Philippe Auguste*.



intelligence of his death while pressing the siege of the castle of Dover.

This event, which at first seemed favorable, proved fatal, to his interest. The greater part of the English nobles had rallied around Louis from the hatred they bore to John: but this hatred was extinguished with his life. John left a son two years old, named Henry, whom the Cardinal Galon crowned King immediately on the death of his father. His uncle, William Longsword, was the first to give an example of loyalty to the new sovereign by abandoning Louis of France. This example was soon followed by the other lords, and Louis, entirely deserted, concluded a truce and returned to France.

In 1217, he crossed the channel with a fresh levy of troops and endeavored to enforce an acknowledgment of his claim to the English crown; but he was entirely unsuccessful; and, after making peace anew, he returned to take part in the Crusade against the Albigenses, in 1219.

This expedition was also a failure. The Crusaders at first took Marmande and slew the inhabitants to the number of fifteen hundred "with the women and little children. Thence they marched to Toulouse, which they besieged and assaulted, but with little vigor,\* some among us maliciously hindering

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\* Toulouse was three times besieged in the space of twenty years, and braved the assaults of three Kings, although the first siege was conducted in person by Philip Augustus, the second by Louis VIII., and the third by Saint-Louis, — Louis IX.

the success of the Cross; and the affair proving thus abortive, the warriors returned home laden with more blame than praise.”\*

Philip Augustus fell sick in 1223, and expired on the evening of the ides of July, at the age of sixty-nine, after a reign of forty-three years. He had continued the monarchical work of Louis-le-Gros, and increased the stability of the government, the kingdom and the throne. He re-conquered Normandy, Touraine, Anjou, Maine, and Poitou; purchased the counties of Auvergne and Artois; and recovered Picardy, a great number of places in Berri, and divers other counties, chatellanies and seigniories.

In the meantime, the spirit of enfranchisement was not idle, but made immense progress in the nation. It was sapping the seigniories behind, which the King was attacking in front; and forming around Paris — made free by the presence of the King — a belt of independent communes that not only paid no taxes or imposts to the sovereign, but sometimes even marched against him; as is attested by the list of prisoners taken at the battle of Bovines, among whom were found men belonging to fifteen different communes.†

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\* GUILLAUME LEBRETON.

† The fifteen communes were Noyon, Mont-Didier, Montreuil, Soissons, Bruyères, Hesdin, Cerny, Cressy en Laonnais, Craon, Vesly, Corbie, Compeigne, Roye, Amiens, and Beauvais.

Under this reign, the University of Paris first gained celebrity. The *trivium* and *quadrivium* were taught there. The *trivium* consisted of grammar, rhetoric, and logic; the *quadrivium*, of astrology, geometry, arithmetic, and music.

Philip Augustus commenced or completed several works of public utility. The cathedral of Notre-Dame, in Paris, the foundations of which were scarcely above ground when he ascended the throne, was entirely finished when he died. Paris, the progressive growth of which rendered a new line of fortifications necessary, was, by his orders, surrounded with walls;\* and he aspired to render

\* In the same year \*\* — 1211 — King Philip the Magnanimous surrounded Paris, toward the South, with a wall†† ex-

\*\* We might be led to suppose, from the manner in which this author expresses himself, that this great work was undertaken in this year. But it is not so. The walls were commenced in 1190, and finished in 1211.

†† From the bank of the Seine toward the North the wall passed inside the Louvre, crossed the streets St. Honoré, Deux Ecus, the site of the Hotel de Soissons, the streets Coquillière, Montmartre, Montorgueil, the site of the present Italian Theatre, the streets Française, Saint-Denis, Bourg-l'Abbé, St. Martin, continued the length of the street Grenier-St.-Lazare, crossed the streets Beaubourg and St. Avoie to the site of the present Hotel de Mesme; and, passing over the site of the Convent des Blancs-Manteaux and thence between the streets Francs-Bourgeois and Rosiers, terminated at the river between the Monastery of the Jesuits and the Convent of Ave-Maria. It

obsolete its name Lutetia,\* by being the first to pave three of its two hundred and thirty-six streets.† It was he, also, who built the Louvre, where his feudatories assembled to swear fealty and homage, and

tending on both sides as far as the Seine and enclosing a very great extent of ground. He then forced the owners of the fields and vineyards, so enclosed, to lease them to the citizens for the purpose of building houses on them, so that the whole city, to the very walls, appeared full of houses. — GUILLAUME LEBRETON.

\* From *lutum*, which signifies *mud*.

† The King, one day, looked out at a window of his palace, whence he was wont frequently to watch the flow of the Seine. Suddenly, the carriages drawn by horses in the middle of the streets caused an insupportable fetid odor to arise from the mud disturbed by their passage. The King could not endure it; and, from that moment, he meditated an enterprise as difficult as it was indispensable, the difficulties and the cost of which had always prevented his predecessors from undertaking it. Having, therefore, convoked the prévôts and citizens of the town, he ordained, in virtue of his royal authority, that all the quarters and streets of Paris should be paved with hard and solid stones. — RIGORD; *Vie de Philippe Auguste*.

had eight principal gates; the first, near the Louvre, on the river's edge; the second, where the priests of the Oratoire now reside; the third, opposite St. Eustache, between the streets Platrière and du Jour; the fourth, at the street St. Denis: the fifth, at the corner of the street Grenier-St.-Lazare; the sixth, called la porte Barbette, between the street Francs-Bourgeois and the Convent des Blancs-Manteaux; the seventh, near the Monastery of the Jesuits; and the eighth, on the border of the river between the port St. Paul and the bridge Marie. — SAINTE-FOIX; *Esquisses historiques*.

where they found a prison when they broke their oath.

Philip Augustus was the first of the descendants of Hugh Capet who neglected to have his son consecrated during his life-time. Perhaps he thought the precaution needless ; or he may have feared that the Pope—to whom King John had been a vassal for an annual pension of one thousand marks of silver—might refuse his sanction to Louis whom he had excommunicated on account of his war with England. At all events, he substituted a martial ceremony for the religious one—and knighted him in presence of his whole court.

One month after the death of Philip, Louis was consecrated and crowned at Rheims. As his was a reign of three years' duration only, it was productive of but few important events : his expeditions into England and his Crusades against the Albigenses having occurred during the life-time of his father.

We find him, however, making war with much valour and some fortune, not against the English of Normandy and Guienne whom his father had driven from the kingdom, but against some of the French lords who still held out for them. He thus took the château of Niort and the town of Rochelle from Savary de Mauléon. “On hearing the news of these two victories,” says the unknown historian of Louis VIII., “the lords of the country of Limoges, of Perigord and of Aquitania—with the exception of

the Gascons who lived beyond the Garonne—promised, with much submission, fidelity to King Louis, and they kept their faith.”

In 1226, Louis again took up the Cross against the Albigenses. His army assembled at Bourges, marched by Nevers and Lyons, and arrived before Avignon, which had been deemed impregnable. The siege was long and obstinately sustained, but eventually the town surrendered. Its trenches were filled up: three hundred houses, garnished with towers, were razed to the ground; and the King marched on to Toulouse.

But he found his health declining, and left the expedition under the command of Imbert de Beaujeu. He had proceeded on his return to France, as far as Montpensier, in Auvergne, when he was forced to stop. The malady by which he was attacked made rapid progress, and he expired on the twenty-seventh of October, 1226, in the thirty-ninth year of his age. He bequeathed ten thousand livres to two thousand lazaret-houses built in France to accommodate those suffering under diseases brought thither by the Crusaders from the Holy Land.

The first order of Mendicants was established in this reign; as was also the edict prohibiting prostitutes from “wearing gowns with rolling collars, trains, or girdles embroidered with gold.”\*

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\* CHATEAUBRIAND; *Analyse raisonnée de l'histoire de France*.

Louis VIII. makes but an insignificant figure in history; although his contemporaries style him *Cœur-de-Lion* for his bravery, and *Lion-Pacifique* for his mildness: and Nicolas de Bray, author of a poem in his praise\* has elevated him above Alexander and Cæsar.† His name is extinguished between the names of his predecessor and his successor: he was the son of Philip Augustus, and the father of Saint-Louis.

Louis IX. was not yet fourteen years old when Blanche of Castile, his mother, caused him to be consecrated at Rheims by the arch-bishop of Soissons.‡ During the minority of Louis, the regent, Blanche, was occupied in suppressing the partial revolts of the nobles, who rebelled, ostensibly, in scorn of the regency of a woman; but in reality from their hatred of the royal power, which was daily establishing itself more firmly. The communes,

\* *Faits et Gestes de Louis VIII.*

† "Doubtless, if the sisters, the Daughters of Destiny, had not so speedily cut his thread of life, in the middle of his brilliant youth, the great Alexander—to whom the world entire was subjected, from Cadiz, city of Hercules, to the Ganges—returning to this earth, would appear insignificant and would humble himself before Louis; and, compared with Louis, he who constituted the glory of the Roman nation—Julius Cæsar—notwithstanding his greatness and his merit, would be only scorned."

‡ The See of Rheims was vacant.

too, increased in number and the popular enfranchisement made rapid progress. In 1233, the King attained his majority and took the reins of government into his own hands.

Louis IX. is a perfect type of the Middle Age personified. His arm was powerful; his spirit, adventurous; his soul, religious; and his habits, simple.

He fought in person, like the meanest of his knights. He administered justice under an oak without marshals or guards. And he died in a tent, a thousand leagues from his capital, with his eyes raised to heaven, saying, "I shall enter into thy habitation; I shall adore thee in thy holy temple, and confess myself to thee, O LORD!"\*

Saint-Louis had his chronicler, and his poet: Nangis wrote his history and Joinville his epic — for the narration of Joinville is a perfect poem; charming in its simplicity, marvellous in its crudity, and sublime in its hope and faith.

In considering the reign of St. Louis, it will be necessary only to point out the prominent events.

In 1224, the victories of Taillebourg and Saintes were obtained over Hugh, Count de la Marche, who was sustained in his revolt by England.†

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\* Chronicle of Guillaume de Nangis.

† He gave battle before Saintes to the said Hugh, Count de la Marche, and to Henry, King of the English, whom Hugh had persuaded to pass into France with a great multitude of armed



In 1250, the fifth Crusade, into Egypt, was undertaken and the King was made prisoner.\*

In 1251, arose the troubles occasioned by the shepherds,†—*Pastourcaux*.

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men, because his wife was mother of King Henry. King Louis conquered them valiantly, put them to flight, and made prisoners of a great number of their soldiers. — GUILLAUME DE NANGIS.

\* It happened, by permission of GOD, and perhaps in punishment of the sins of some, that the King of France, Saint-Louis, fell into the hands of the Saracens, as did also his two brothers, Alphonse, Count of Poitou and Charles, Count of Anjou. — *Ibid*.

† A surprising event, a novel and unheard-of thing, occurred in the kingdom of France. Some chiefs of brigands, in order to seduce simple folk and spread the Crusade among the people, announced, by inventions full of duplicity, that they had seen a vision of angels, and that the holy Virgin Mary had appeared to them commanding them to take the Cross and assemble an army of herdsmen and of the lowest orders of the people, whom the LORD had chosen to march to the rescue of the Holy Land and of the King of France who was captive in that country. They represented by images painted on banners the tenor of this vision. Passing, first, through Flanders and Picardy, they drew after them, by their exhortations, the herdsmen and the common people of the villages and fields as the loadstone draws iron. When they arrived in France, their numbers were so increased, that they ranked by thousands and marched like an army. Whenever, in traversing the country, they passed by shepherds tending their flocks, the shepherds, abandoning their charge without consulting their parents, possessed by I know not what frenzy, joined themselves to these criminal adventurers. While, truly, the herdsmen and simple folk, united with these men with a good intent,

In 1259, Henry, King of England was reinstated in the possession of his ancient dominions South of

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there were in the ranks many thieves and murderers, secretly guilty of every imaginable crime, by whose counsel and direction the whole band was governed. When they passed by villages and towns, they raised their clubs, hatchets and other weapons in the air, and thus rendered themselves so terrible, that no one to whom was confided the judicial authority dared gainsay them in anything. They had fallen into such error, that they presumed to solemnize marriages, to bestow the Cross, and to grant, at least in appearance, the absolution of sins. But, what was worse than all, they so led the common people into error that many of them affirmed and others believed that the viands and wine they carried with them did not diminish, but rather increased, by being used. The clergy learned with great sorrow that the people had fallen into such delusion: but in endeavoring to oppose its progress, they became odious to the misguided folk, who conceived such an aversion to the priests that they killed many whom they found in the fields, making, as we think, martyrs of them. Queen Blanche, whose admirable wisdom at that time governed the kingdom of France, would not, perhaps, have allowed their error to make such progress, had she not hoped that, through them, assistance might be rendered to her son, the King St. Louis, and to the Holy Land. When these people had traversed Paris, they conceived that they had passed all dangers; and they gave themselves out to be virtuous men, which position they proved by this argument; viz., that in Paris, the source of all knowledge, they had been gainsayed in nothing. They then began more eagerly than ever to give themselves up to their follies, and addicted themselves with new ardor to rapine and depredation. Having proceeded to Orleans, they attacked the clerks of the University and killed a great number: but many of their own party were

the Loire,\* in exchange for his pretensions to the Duchy of Normandy and the counties of Anjou, Mans, Touraine, Poitou, and their fiefs.

In 1269, the sixth and last Crusade against the Turks was undertaken, during which the King died amid the ruins of ancient Carthage;† and the oath of fidelity and homage to his son Philip was taken by the crusading barons and knights.

also slain. Their chief, whom they called Master of Hungary, thence led them to Bourges, where they entered the synagogues of the Jews, destroyed their books and deprived them of all their wealth. But when they had quitted Bourges, the citizens of the town pursued them, arms in hand, and killed the Master with many of his band. After this check, the remainder dispersed themselves in different places and were slain or hung for their crimes. — GUILLAUME DE NANGIS.

During the time that King Louis was captive, a great number of young shepherds and youths in the kingdom of France suddenly took the Cross: but they were dispersed in a short time like a cloud of smoke.—*Des Gestes glorieux des Français.*

\* St. Louis, King of France, gave Henry a great sum of money, and assigned to him, for himself and his successors, much country in the dioceses of Limoges, Périgueux, Saintes and Agen, on condition that he and his successors should hold, in fief of the Kings of France, these lands, Bordeaux, Bayonne, and all Gascony; and that the King of England, enrolled among the barons of France, should be called peer, and King of Aquitania.—*Ibid.*

† After these words, he fell asleep in the Lord. All the barons and knights, then present, swore fidelity and homage, in behalf of the kingdom of France, to Philip, his son, who succeeded him in the camp under the walls of Carthage.—*Ibid.*

Of the minor events that took place at home during the reign of St. Louis, were:—

The establishment of the Sorbonne College by Robert de Sorbonne :\*

The introduction into France of the Mariner's Compass, by the Venetian, Marco Polo, in 1260 :†

The use of astronomical tables, called *Alphonsine* :

The substitution of the trial by witnesses, for that by combat :

The police of tradesmen, established by Etienne Boileau, their provost :

The resistance of the King to the usurpations of

\* At this epoch — 1264 — illustrious theologians flourished in Paris : frère Thomas d'Aquinas, of the order of Dominicans ; frère Bonaventure of the order of Cordeliers ; and, among the lay-clergy, maître Gerard d'Abbeville ; and maître Robert de Sorbonne, who instituted the schools of the Sorbonne. — *Chronique de Nangis*.

† It is not clear that Jean Gira or Goya, or Flavio Jivia d'Amalfi invented the Mariner's Compass. Marco Polo might have brought it from China in 1260 ; and an old French poet, Guyot de Provins, exactly described the Compass under the name of *marinella*, or *pierre marinière*, more than fifty years preceding the journey of the Venetian into China. The adoption by all nations of the fleur-de-lys to designate the North in the representation of the cardinal points, seems to confirm the claim of France to the honor of perfecting the Compass. — CHATEAUBRIAND, *Analyse raisonnée*.

M. Viardot, in his essay on the Moors of Spain, claims for them this invention, and dates it from the eighth century.

the Court of Rome, and his interference in favor of the liberties of the Gallican Church : and,

The Code, or civil establishment, of St. Louis.

The events that took place abroad, were : —

The founding of the Prussian dominion by the knights of the Teutonic order ; A. D. 1230 :

The rise of the free cities of Italy and the Hanseatic towns of Germany ; 1254 :

The commons admitted into the Parliament of England ; 1265 : and,

Conradin beheaded by order of Charles of Anjou, brother of St. Louis, whom Pope Urban IV. invested with the kingdom of Naples ; 1268.

Thus the epoch of St. Louis' reign is remarkable for the contemporaneous advancement of poetry, liberty, and science :

Of poetry, by the songs of Thibault, Count of Champagne :

Of science, by the invention of the Mariner's Compass ; the foundation of the Sorbonne ; and the encouragement granted to the University.\*

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\* There arose in Paris, a great dissension between the students and the citizens. The citizens had killed some clerks ; their brethren, therefore, quitting Paris, dispersed themselves through different countries. Louis, seeing this, was greatly grieved that the study of letters and philosophy, by which the treasure of knowledge is acquired — which treasure excels all others — should be discontinued in Paris : for it had come from Athens to Rome and from Rome to France, with the honors of

Of liberty—the liberty of the Church, by the ecclesiastical Code ; civil liberty, by the appeal to royal judges ; and, political liberty, by the admission of the commons into parliament.

Although the death of St. Louis caused great sorrow and mourning throughout the camp, it did not interrupt the siege of Tunis. Charles, King of Sicily, arrived by sea with a host of knights and restored confidence to the Christians ; the Saracens, on the contrary, seeing that the Crusaders were preparing a multitude of warlike machines, and would soon attack them simultaneously by sea and land, proposed a treaty of peace, which was accepted.

The principal conditions of the treaty were :

That all Christian prisoners in the kingdom of Tunis should be restored to liberty :

That Catholic priests should have the right of preaching the Christian faith in the monasteries throughout the kingdom :

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chivalry, under the auspices of Charlemagne and in the train of Denis (*Dionysius*) the Greek Arcopagite, who was the first to disseminate the Catholic faith in Paris. This very pious King, St. Louis, fearing for the prosperity of his realm,—because science and knowledge (*sapientia et scientia*) are the wealth of social life—and fearing, also, that the LORD might say to him, “ as thou hast banished knowledge, I banish thee,” this King, we say, commanded the said clerks to return to Paris, received them with great clemency, and compelled the citizens to make to them prompt reparation for all the wrongs they had sustained. —GUILLAUME DE NANGIS.

That those who desired to be baptized, should be allowed the privilege without molestation ;

And, that the King of Tunis, after having paid all the expenses incurred in this expedition by the Kings and barons, should continue to pay the tribute he owed to the King of Sicily.

At the conclusion of this treaty, the King and nobles, finding that the army was greatly diminished by contagious diseases, now resolved to return to France by the way of Sicily and Italy. But, before quitting Africa, they swore upon the body of St. Louis that they would return to the Holy Land, remaining in France no longer than was necessary to crown the King, to recruit their health and to levy another army. Some knights, however, more zealous than the rest, refused to return at all ; but put themselves under the conduct of prince Edward, eldest son of Henry of England, and marched into Syria to do battle for Christendom.\*

Philip III. left this land of desolation, carrying with him the bodies of his father, St. Louis, and of his brother, the Duke de Nevers. On his route homeward, his sister died ; and, entering France with this funeral train, he proceeded to the abbey of St. Denis to inter the remains of his family where they had desired to be buried.

In the month of August next following, Philip was

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\* GUILLAUME DE NANGIS.

consecrated and crowned at Rheims by the bishop of Soissons.

*Philip the Bold was placed in contrast with St. Louis, his father, and Philip the Fair, his son, as Louis VIII. had been with Philip Augustus and St. Louis: and as a husbandman suffers a field to lie fallow between two harvests, so Providence permitted France to repose between two great reigns.* We quote this from M. de Châteaubriand, because it is impossible to give a more just idea, in a more figurative style, of Philip III.

Indeed this reign, which lasted for fifteen years, presents no remarkable feature, except the war of the King against Peter of Aragon: the causes of which we will here consider.

Charles of Anjou, brother of St. Louis, after having vanquished and slain Mainfroy, picked up the crown of Sicily from the foot of Conradin's scaffold. Pope Clement, following Urban's policy, confirmed to him the ownership of a kingdom that he had no right to bestow; and the French established themselves at Palermo, whence they extended their conquests over the whole island.

The Sicilians, thereupon, entered into a league with Peter of Aragon who, through his wife, the daughter of Mainfroy, had a claim to the crown usurped by Charles. Peter raised a powerful army and collected his ships; which hostile preparations excited the suspicions of the then Pope, Martin, and of Charles;



and they demanded an explanation of his intentions. Peter returned answer by a solemn deputation to Rome, that the forces he had assembled were destined to the service of God, who had inspired him with the intention of taking the Cross to afford aid to the Christians in Jerusalem. And, in fact, he put to sea; but he anchored in a port of Africa and held himself in readiness to second the attempt of the Sicilians to rid themselves of Charles.

“In the year 1281,” says Guillaume de Nangis, “the inhabitants of Messina and Palermo, filled with rage against King Charles and the French residents, massacred the latter without distinction of age or sex: nay, more, they destroyed all of their own countrywomen who were about to become mothers from their connexion with Frenchmen.”

Every one is familiar with the fact that this massacre was committed on Easter-day at the hour of vespers. The ringing of the vesper-bell was the signal for commencing the work of death; and the French were recognised by being forced to pronounce the word *ciceri*; as twenty years later, and on the occasion of a similar massacre, at Bruges, they were compelled to repeat in low Dutch, the words *scilt ende vriendt* — (buckler and friend.)

Charles of Anjou, who was at Rome when this massacre took place, immediately sent his son Charles, prince of Salerno, to ask aid of his nephew Philip III. of France. In the meantime, he himself

passed the Pharos of Messina and laid siege to the town. It was then that the inhabitants of Palermo received Peter of Aragon and his army into their port. All Sicily hailed him as a deliverer and he was elected King. Upon this, Charles raised the siege of Messina and returned to France. He afterward went into Apulia, where he died on the seventh of January, 1284.

Pope Martin now excommunicated Peter, and gave his kingdom of Aragon to Charles, son of King Philip, as Pope Clement had before given the kingdom of Conradin to Charles of Anjou. The King of France raised an army and marched toward the Pyrenees to put his son in possession of the dominion thus bestowed; he crossed these mountains by passes before deemed impracticable, and laid siege to Gerona.

Peter of Aragon hastened to defend his realm. He learned that a French convoy was to repair to the port of Roses, where the royal flotilla was stationed, in order to transport provisions to it and to the camp. He therefore placed himself in ambush, on the route the convoy proposed to take, with five hundred knights and three thousand foot-soldiers.

Raoul, lord of Nesle, Constable of France, the Count de la Marche and Jean de Harcourt, being informed of this ambuscade, marched in advance of the convoy with a hundred and fifty-six armed knights. The Aragonese, seeing so small a troop,

sallied forth to destroy them, but the French defended themselves valiantly; and at length, notwithstanding the disparity of their numbers, defeated the assailants. The Count de la Marche mortally wounded Peter in the fray, but he was not conscious of having done so, as Peter was disguised in a suit of common armor; and the wounded man, unknown to the French, expired in an abbey.

As Winter was approaching, Philip, ignorant of his antagonist's death, garrisoned Gerona, which had surrendered after the victory of the French, disbanded his flotilla and retired to Perpignan where the malady, which for some time had afflicted him, made such rapid progress that he died on the fifteenth of October, 1285, two months after Peter's death, and almost in sight of the harbor of Aigues-Mortes, whence his father had embarked to die at Tunis. His flesh and entrails were buried in the great church at Narbonne, and his bones and heart were carried for interment to St. Denis.\*

Philip was the first monarch who granted letters of nobility; and, consequently, was the first who aimed a blow at the aristocracy by elevating a commoner to that rank. The man who obtained this distinction was a silversmith, named Raoul. But two centuries had elapsed since the people struggled to escape

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\* GUILLAUME DE NANGIS.

from the condition of serfs ; and already they began to be nobles.

Philip IV., or Philip the Fair, succeeded to the throne in 1285.

This reign, which was placed between the pure-feudal and the monarchical-feudal government, a reign of social transformation, — was one of the most important of the monarchy, on account of that which fell and that which arose during its continuance.

The religious spirit that had incited the Crusades ; the power of the Popes who had accomplished their democratic mission ; the powerful order of the Templars, who were condemned as criminals, yet who, perhaps, suffered as martyrs — these fell.

The parliament and the Third-Estate, (*Tiers-Etat*) ; the republic of William Tell in Switzerland ; the republic of Artevelde in Flanders — these arose ; and the monarchical ground trembled at these first eruptions of the popular volcano.

The religious spirit of the Crusades was thus dissipated. The oath taken by the Crusaders on the body of St. Louis, was blown away by the tempest that dispersed their navy ; and the dissensions between Peter of Aragon and Charles of Anjou effaced this spirit from the minds of Christendom so effectually that, of all the territory which, two centuries before, the Christians had sworn to conquer and subdue, the cities of Tripoli and St. Jean d' Acre, now alone remained in their possession. Besides,

this latter city was defended only by the King of Cyprus, by the two military and religious orders of the Templars and the Hospitallers, and by fifteen hundred men in the pay of Pope Nicolas.

In 1288, three years after Philip the Fair's accession to the throne, Tripoli was taken by the Sultan of Babylon, and all the Christian inhabitants were killed or made slaves. The inhabitants of Acre, terrified at this, immediately demanded and obtained a truce of two years.

In defiance, however, of this truce and in opposition to the wishes of the Templars and the Hospitallers, the hired troops of the Pope made an excursion upon some Saracen towns, and massacred all the infidels who fell in their way, without regard to age or sex.

On receiving the news of this violation of the treaty, the Sultan commanded the inhabitants of Acre to surrender to him the offenders, under penalty of having their city destroyed in case of their refusal. They did, nevertheless, refuse.

The Sultan then assembled an immense army and marched to take summary vengeance on the Christians; but he fell ill on his route: and, finding that he could not survive, he called his seven emirs around his bed, gave to each four thousand horsemen, and twenty thousand foot-soldiers and ordered them to proceed to attack the city. An army equally large remained behind to guard his tent.

He then caused his son to be elected his successor, and charged him to follow the precedent army with the remainder of the troops and complete the destruction of Acre, as soon as he should expire.

This injunction was faithfully obeyed ; and the young Sultan was soon in command of the united forces near the walls of Acre, erecting and preparing a great number of warlike machines to ensure a victory.

On the fourth day of May, 1290, these messengers of death slowly and heavily approached the walls, notwithstanding the determined resistance of the besieged : and, having reached their appropriate positions, they rained upon the city a shower of stones for two entire days. The terrified inhabitants sent, by ship, to Cyprus, the aged, the sick, the women and children—all, indeed, who were useless for the defence of the town. They also transported, by the same vessels, their treasures, precious merchandise and holy relics ; so that there remained in Acre only about twelve thousand men among whom were scarcely five hundred knights.

On the fifteenth of May the Saracens made an assault on that part of the walls defended by the King of Cyprus. The city would undoubtedly have been taken if the Templars had not hastened to his assistance. The next day, under pretence of fatigue, he placed this post in charge of the commander of the German troops ; and, at night, he fled from the town

by sea with all his retainers and nearly three thousand men besides.

The next morning, the Saracens, perceiving how few soldiers were in position to defend that part of the walls which they had already nearly taken, advanced in mass toward the same point, filled the trench, effected a breach, and penetrated into the city. Once more, the Templars and Hospitallers repulsed them with admirable bravery, but it was their last triumph. The day following, the Saracens forced an entrance by the gate of St. Anthony and were again encountered by these vigilant knights ; but, by this time, their arms and fortunes grew weary. One after another, the soldier-monks were slain, confessing one another and glorifying unto death the God for whom they died. The city, of course, was taken.

The Saracens then entirely destroyed it. Ramparts, towers, churches, houses—all were demolished. The patriarch and the Grand Master of the Hospital, wounded and bleeding, were placed by some of the survivors on board a vessel, in the hope of reaching the Archipelago, or Sicily ; but they died at sea. "Thus," says Guillaume de Nangis, "was the city of Acre—the sole and last asylum of Christianity in this land—destroyed ; destroyed by the enemies of the faith, and not one King in all Christendom would render it assistance in its distress."

The contention between Pope Boniface VIII. and King Philip IV. occupies a prominent place in the reign of the latter. We shall consider its causes, its occurrences and its results.

The relations between Philip and the holy father were, at first, amicable. We find, in Guillaume de Nangis, that in 1297 Philip produced, in an assembly of the prelates of France, a letter by which Boniface VIII. granted to him and his next heir permission to receive a tenth part of the goods of the Church, with the approbation of the French clergy, whenever the necessities of the kingdom should require it.

Some time after this, the bishop of Pamiers, having uttered at the court, certain words offensive to the royal majesty, was arrested by Philip, but afterward claimed by Pope Boniface on the ground that the bishop was amenable only to the ecclesiastical court. The King ordered him to be set at liberty and driven from the kingdom.\*

Boniface, offended at this manner of compliance with his demand, sent a bull to the King, requiring him to acknowledge that he held the kingdom of France of the Holy See and declaring that whoever maintained or even entertained a contrary opinion, was a heretic. The King burned this bull in a full assembly at his palace, and sent back those who

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\* Continuation of Guillaume de Nangis.



brought it, without any reply whatever.\* The keeper of the seals, Pierre Flotte, undertook the composition and transmission of the answer to the Pope. This is the commencement of the letter that he wrote :

“ Philip, by the grace of God, King of the French, to Boniface, representing himself to be Pope, little or no salutation.

“ That your very great simplicity may know that we are not submissive to any for temporalities.” etc.†

Boniface replied to this by another bull, in which were set forth his grievances and his grounds of complaint against Philip. He accused the King of overwhelming his subjects with taxes, of debasing the coin, and of receiving the revenue of vacant benefices.‡

The three orders that had just been constituted

\* Des gestes glorieux des Français.

† CHATEAUBRIAND; *Analyse raisonnée de l'histoire de France*.

‡ By a letter to Philip, the Pope had previously authorized these receipts. “ Besides, the said Pope had granted to him, to aid in defraying the expenses of war, all the revenues, profits and dues of a year from prebends, priories, archdeaconries, deanships, church-benefices and all other ecclesiastical dignities whatsoever, which had become vacant during the period of the war in the kingdom of France, — bishoprics, archbishoprics, monasteries and abbeys excepted.” — GUILLAUME DE NANGIS.

wrote to Rome : the clergy, in Latin ; the noblesse and the Third-Estate, in the Romance language. The letter of the clergy is extant ; its style is grave and firm. Those of the noblesse and Third-Estate are lost ; but the reply of the cardinals proves that in the letters of these two orders the Pope did not receive even the appellation of sovereign pontiff.

A bull which placed the kingdom under interdict and excommunicated Philip, immediately followed the reply of the cardinals. The two nuncios, who were the bearers of this latter missive, were put in prison and the three orders were convoked at the Louvre. A public prosecution was instituted against Boniface. It was set forth in the declaration that he denied the immortality of the soul ; that he doubted the real presence of the body of the SAVIOUR in the Eucharist ; that he was sullied by the infamous sin ; and that he called the French, *Patarins*.\* The three orders adhered to each other ; and Philip appealed from the bulls of Boniface to future councils and future Popes.†

Not content with this, Philip gave orders to Guillaume Nogaret de St. Felix, who was in Italy, to seize on the person of the Pope and conduct him to Lyons, where the keys of St. Peter were to be taken from him in a general council.

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\* Nickname of the Albigenses.

† CHATEAUBRIAND; *Analyse raisonnée*.

We quote from Châteaubriand the narration of this event : it will be, amid our barren prose, an oasis to the reader :

“Nogaret conspired with Colonna, a member of that powerful Roman family, whom Boniface had persecuted.\* The enterprise was conducted with secrecy and success. Nogaret and Colonna, aided by certain lords whom they had persuaded to join them, and also by some adventurers whom they had enlisted in their cause, introduced themselves into Agnani. On the seventh of September, 1303, at day-break, the inhabitants leagued with the conspirators and took the Pope's palace by assault. The doors of his chamber were then forced.

“The pontiff was seated upon a throne, bearing on his shoulders the mantle of St. Peter ; on his head the tiara, ornamented with two crowns, symbol of the two powers ; and holding in his hands the Cross and the Keys.

“Nogaret was taken by surprise. He approached Boniface respectfully, avowed his mission, and desired him to convoke a general council at Lyons. ‘I shall console myself,’ replied Boniface, ‘with the reflection that I am condemned by Patarins.’ The grand-father of Nogaret had been a Patarin, i. e. one of the Albigenses, and was burned alive as a

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\* He had taken away the Cardinal's hat from two brothers of this family:

heretic. 'Will you lay down your tiara?' demanded Colonna. 'Here is my head,' said Boniface; 'I will die in the chair where God has seated me.'

"After this proud reply to Colonna, Boniface commenced a tirade of abuse against Philip, when Colonna struck the Pope and would have plunged a dagger in his breast if Nogaret had not restrained him. 'Base Pope!' cried Colonna; 'consider this kindness as the act of the King of France, who guards you by Nogaret and thus defends you from your enemies.'

"Boniface, fearing poison, refused all food. A poor woman fed him for three days on a little bread and four eggs. After this, the people, with their usual fickleness of purpose, delivered the pontiff from the hands of his captors and he set out for Rome, where he died of a nervous fever on the eleventh of October, 1303. Some authors assert that, after having devoured his fingers, he dashed his head against the wall,\*

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\* In the year of our LORD, 1303, on the eve of the nativity of the holy Virgin Mary, in the month of September, while Boniface was residing with his court at Agnani, — his country and natal city, — believing himself to be more secure amid his own people, he was betrayed and held prisoner by some of his guilty servants. His treasures and those of the Church were pillaged and carried away, not without great shame to the Church. The cardinals, trembling for themselves, abandoned him and fled, with the exception of two, the lord Peter, a Spanish

The people bestowed on him this epitaph : “ Here lies one who entered into the pontificate like a fox, reigned like a lion and died like a dog.”

But two centuries had elapsed since Gregory V. excommunicated Robert ; and now Philip IV., in turn, deposed Boniface VIII. Gregory VII., placed equidistantly between them, was the culminating point of Papacy. Until his accession, the power of the Popes was constantly increasing ; and afterward, it steadily diminished.

We proceed, now, to the fall of the Templars.

“ In the year of our Lord 1307,” says the author

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bishop, and the lord Nicolas, bishop of Ostia. The author of this arrest and this crime was Guillaume Nogaret de St. Felix of the diocese of Toulouse ; and his accomplices were the Colonna, from two of whom the Pope had formerly taken the cardinal's hat. Thus, outrage, fear and grief suddenly overwhelmed that Boniface who had made Kings, pontiffs, monks and the people to tremble terribly. He was avaricious of gold to excess ; and he lost his treasures that, by his example, prelates in power might learn to govern the clergy and people with humility, and lead them like a flock with all carefulness, and seek to be loved rather than feared. Thirty days after his arrest, transported from Agnani to Rome, this pontiff, taken from a court, was placed on a bed of pain and bitterness and died at Rome in agony of spirit on the eleventh day of October. The day following, he was buried in a tomb that he had prepared for himself in the church of St. Peter, in the year of our Lord, 1303, and in the ninth year of his pontificate. — *Des gestes glorieux des Français.*

of the *Gestes glorieux des Français*, "there happened a great event, an amazing event, which should be transmitted to posterity by writing. On the festival of the holy Confessor Edward, the Templars, throughout the whole extent of the kingdom, were, by order of the King and his council, arrested, with the exception of some secretaries and clerks of the order. All were ignorant of the cause of this proceeding, and were truly amazed that an order so ancient as that of the Templars,\* and one so favored by the Romish Church, should thus suddenly have fallen."†

The crimes which served as a foundation for their impeachment were these :

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\* It was founded in 1118.

† The author of the continuation of Nangis thus relates the same facts: "About the time of Pentecost, Philip, King of France, repaired to Poitiers to hold an interview with Pope Clement V. There, it is said, many important events were deliberated and determined on by him and the cardinals, and especially the arrest of the Templars, as the event that followed will attest. The Pope then expressly commanded the Grand Masters of the Temple and the Hospital who were beyond the seas, to leave all things else and be at Poitiers within a specified time, to appear before him. The Grand Master of the Temple obeyed this order; but the Grand Master of the Hospital, arrested in his progress, at Rhodes, by the Saracens who had seized on this island, could not appear at the stated time, and legitimately excused himself by his envoys. At length, at the end of some months, having reconquered the island by force of arms, he hastened to obey the summons of the Pope."

“In the first place—abominable thing!”—says the author of the continuation of Nangis, “upon the command of the Master—infamous to relate!—they kissed each other on the posterior parts. Besides, they spat on the image of the crucifix, trod it under foot, and idolatrously worshipped in secret the head of an idol with the greatest veneration. When their priests celebrated mass, they in no wise uttered the words of consecration; and although they vowed to lead a life of chastity, they nevertheless paid little regard to their oath.”\*

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\* The order of the Templars, which was thought to be extinct, appears to have been preserved until our day without the cessation of their conventual assemblies, and without an interruption of the legal and legitimate succession of Grand Masters from Jacques de Molay. On the contrary, in this succession will be found, if we may credit the testimony of the modern Templars, the names of men who enjoyed the veneration of their contemporaries.

With regard to the crimes cited above, the author recently interrogated a modern Templar on the possibility of their having been committed; and his answer, if not decisive, is at least plausible: “The order of Templars had its ordeals like the order of Free Masons; but its ordeals were religious and moral, instead of being physical. The neophyte received the injunction, under penalty of death, to spit upon CHRIST, to adore the head of an idol, etc. etc. If, in his fright, he complied, he was declared unworthy and expelled: if, on the contrary, he maintained his purity and integrity, he was admitted a member of the order. This will explain the evidence brought against the

On the tenth of May, 1310, after having endured three years' imprisonment and tortures ordinary and extraordinary, fifty-four Templars, condemned *on their own confession*, were burned without the walls of Paris in a field near an abbey of nuns called St. Anthony. Some days after, four other Templars, and still later nine more, were condemned for the same cause and in the same manner by the arch-bishop of Rheims and his suffragans, and delivered up to the secular arm to be burned. "And, what is strange," says the author of the chronicle whence we draw our details, "every one retracted absolutely the confession he had individually made during the course of the trial, giving no other reason for the confession than the severity and dread of the tortures."

Four years after this, on the fifteenth of March, 1314,\* Jacques de Molay, Grand Master of the Temple and Guy, Dauphin of Auvergne, prior of Normandy, were burned on the *Isle aux Juifs*, Paris,

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Templars. Those applicants who had not the firmness to undergo the initiation, related that as an act of faith, which in truth was only a moral ordeal."

\* Doubts have arisen concerning the accuracy of this date. The author has had recourse to the tradition of the Templars themselves, and the following is the result of his research. The execution took place on the 29th Cédar, the year of the order 196, that is to say, the last day of the lunar year, 1314: therefore, the golden number of the year 1314 being 4, the epact 3, the 29th Cédar corresponds to the 15th March, 1314.



nearly on the spot where the statue of Henry IV. now stands. The execution took place after vespers, or, in other words, about five o'clock in the evening.

The following account of their death is given by an historian of that day :

“ The Grand Master of the Temple and three other Templars, viz., the Visiter of the order in France and the Masters of Aquitania and Normandy, on whom the Pope had reserved to himself the right of passing definitive sentence—avowed openly and publicly the crimes of which they were accused in presence of the archbishop of Sens and some other prelates and men learned in canonical and divine law, who were called together for this especial purpose (by order of the Pope) by the bishop of Albano and two other cardinal-legates, to whom was communicated the opinion of the council. As the accused persisted in their declarations, and appeared determined to persevere in them to the end, the assembly, after a mature deliberation on the opinions of the said council, did, on the Monday after the festival of St. Gregory, in the public square in front of the church of Paris, condemn them to perpetual seclusion. The cardinals now supposed that this matter was definitively settled ; when, suddenly, two of the Templars, viz., the Grand Master,\* and the

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\* Jacques de Molay.

Grand Prior of Normandy\* obstinately defended themselves against a cardinal who was spokesman and against the archbishop of Sens; and, without any reservation, denied all that they had previously avowed, which caused great surprise to many. Upon this, the cardinals delivered them into the hands of the Prevost of Paris, then present, with the sole intention that he should have them in safe-keeping until the following day, when they, the cardinals, might more fully deliberate upon the case. But as soon as the rumor of these things came to the ear of the King, who was then in the Palais Royal,† he, consulting only his own advisers, prudently decided to deliver these two Templars to the flames in the evening of the same day, on a little island of the Seine situated between the royal garden and the church of the Frères Ermites. They bore their punishment with great calmness and indifference; and indeed their firmness and their last denials were the cause of surprise and bewilderment to all the witnesses. The other two Templars were incarcerated according to their sentence."

But this narration does not mention what in fact occurred; that the two Templars, previous to their execution, from being the accused, became the accusers, and cited their judges, Philip and Clement, to

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\* Guy, Dauphin of Auvergne.

† Le Palais de Justice.

appear, within the year, before the throne of God to wash their double crowns of this double murder; and that the two individuals, so summoned, did in fact present themselves within the prescribed time before the tribunal of eternity.

In speaking of events that took place during the reign of Philip the Fair, we should have said, in regard to the parliament and the Tiers-Etat, that the former was *settled* and the latter, *resuscitated*.

The parliament was settled — for it had been in existence since the year 1000; it succeeded to the *placita* of Grégoire de Tours, and to the *malleum imperatoris* of Charlemagne. It had, however, been itinerant: it had been carried wherever there was a necessity for its presence. Philip the Fair rendered it stationary and ordained that it should hold two sittings during the year. It was composed of counsellor-judges taken from the noblesse and the clergy, and of counsellor-reporters drawn from the class of the burgesses and clerks. Charles VII., who regulated the Council of State, created during the insanity of his father, restricted the parliament to the exercise of purely judicial functions. But the convocation of the three orders, having by degrees fallen into desuetude, or, at most, taking place only at long intervals, the people, who were not represented by any one, became accustomed to consider the parliament as their representative. The parliament, by its custom of registering imposts, acquired the right

of verifying the will of the Kings. This right acquired, it next arrogated that of censuring the royal will; it enacted a prominent part during the time of the Fronde; was overshadowed during the absolute monarchy of Louis XIV., suppressed under Louis XV., re-established under Louis XVI.; and, from the last act of its power, emanated the call of the States-general.\*

We said that the Tiers-Etat was *resuscitated*, and we now explain the sense in which the word is thus used.

Under the first and second races, as we have before remarked, the soldiers — and let it not be forgotten that these soldiers were the conquerors — united themselves in an assembly called the Champ-de-Mars, or Champ-de-Mai, and gave their votes on the election of the sovereigns and the acceptance of the laws. Under Hlot-her II., the clergy gained great importance, by means of waste lands granted to them, and this importance so increased that, a hundred years later, that is about the year 750, they obtained the privilege of sending representatives to this assembly. In conformity to the opinion we have expressed, that the clergy represented the people — and, at this period, the conquered people — we see, by a first and almost imperceptible reaction, that this conquered people took part in the election

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\* Châteaubriand.

of the Kings who were to govern them, and in the discussion of the laws by which they were to be ruled. Soon after, finding a powerful support in their elected chief, in their crowned representative, in their Pope—the peer of the sovereign—the *National Party* formed itself: obtained its first King in Eudes: its second, in Raoul: and consolidated its triumph by the election of Hugh Capet. Until this time, there had been no people, properly so called; but the clergy, representing the people.

The Crusades now approached. Alexander III. issued a proclamation that every Christian was a free-man. Communes were organized. They struggled—triumphed—obtained their charters. A new order claimed footing on the social ladder; and when questioned concerning its name, declared itself, *The People*.

From this time, the clergy—composed, till then, of two elements, the secular and ecclesiastic—preserved the latter only. The hive had swarmed.

From this time, instead of two orders in the kingdom,—the noblesse and the clergy—there were three; the noblesse, the clergy, and the people.

From this time, the clergy, like a woman delivered of her child, ceased to carry in its womb the popular heir; and, from being a protector, became an egotist: separated from the democratic principle to which it owed its power, it lost one half of its strength: deprived of the people who gave it its purity, it be-

came doubly corrupt : and it produced, severally, a perfect type of its strength, its weakness and its corruption, in Gregory VII., Boniface VIII., and Alexander Borgia.

Nevertheless, the clergy, such as it was, still possessed sufficient power to maintain its own representation in the monarchy. Then, the three orders were constituted ; and one of their elements was the *resuscitation* of the Tiers-Etat, represented under the first and second races by the clergy ; and, under the third, by itself.

It may be objected that we return often, and with prolixity, to this subject : but the opinions we entertain and advance clash with so many received opinions, that we desire, at least, to be clearly understood, and to explain what are our own convictions, even should we fail to transfer them to our readers.

The formation of the republics of Flanders\* and Switzerland is connected with our history only in the way of episode : and as these two events are universally known, we shall content ourselves with designating their respective dates.

Philip the Fair had scarcely conquered Flanders,

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\* The league of the Hanseatic towns is posterior, by more than fifty years, to the period we now speak of, and did not take effect until the reign of King John. But as the wars of Flanders were a prelude to this league, we date its origin at 1302, the year of the battle of Courtray.

when troubles arose on all sides. Assassinations of the French took place in many towns, similar to the massacre at Palermo: that of Bruges is the most noted.

Philip sent against the Flemings an army of forty thousand men, commanded by his brother Robert, Count d'Artois, and Raoul de Nesle, Constable of France. The Flemings advanced to meet this force as far as the village of Groëmingue, near Courtray. They were commanded by Peter Le Roy,\* a weaver, who equipped himself as a knight for the occasion. The peasant and the burgher now fought the noble; and the event proved that valor was not the exclusive prerogative of the knights. Twelve thousand French gentlemen remained upon the field;† among whom were Robert d'Artois, General of France; Raoul de Nesle, Constable of France; Jacques de Châtillon, Governor of Flanders; John, King of Majorca; Godfrey de Brabant and his son; the Counts d'Eu, de la Marche, de Dampmartin, and de Tancarville. Four thousand golden spurs were taken from four thousand knights by the good people

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\* A master-weaver, one-eyed, deformed, malicious, and babbling, named Peter, was one of their principal colonels, accompanied by his footmen; and the other chief was a butcher of the same calibre as this tribune. — JEAN DE SERRE.

† JEAN DE SERRE.

of Flanders.\* This battle took place in July, 1302; fifty-nine years later, a league of sixty cities formed the Hanseatic republic.

In the night of the seventeenth of October, 1307, thirty men assembled in the little plain of Grutly, near the southern part of Lake Lucerne. Ten were from the canton of Uri; ten from the canton of Schweitz; ten from the canton of Underwalden. There, in the face of heaven, they swore to achieve the liberty of Switzerland and destroy the life of her tyrants: and, on the first of January, 1308, Gessler was dead and Switzerland free.

Philip the *Summoned* died toward the close of the year 1314, of a disease which his physicians could not discover;† and this fact countenanced the popular superstition that his death was a special judgment from God. Clement V. was already dead.‡

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\* CHATEAUBRIAND.

† Philip, King of France, was afflicted by a disease the nature of which, unknown to his physicians, was to them and to many others the cause of great surprise and wonder: the more especially as his pulse did not at any time announce that he was ill or in danger of dying. — *Continuation of Nangis*.

‡ At the time of Easter, 1314, in the city of Avignon, Pope Clement went the way of all flesh, etc. etc. — GUILLAUME DE NANGIS. — The date of Pope Clement's death causes us to doubt whether the date of the punishment of the Templars is correct. Indeed, if the Templars were burned on the fifteenth of March, 1314, Pope Clement, dying at Easter, could have taken no part in their condemnation.



Philip the Fair was the first who took the title of King of France and Navarre. This latter kingdom was brought to him, in dowry, by his wife Jeanne. His three sons succeeded him one after another under the titles, severally, of Louis X. surnamed, Hutin; Philip V. surnamed, the Long; and Charles IV. surnamed, the Fair. "This succession of three brothers," says Châteaubriand, "occurs twice again in our history and, in both instances, disastrously: Francis II., Charles IX., Henry III.: Louis XVI., Louis XVIII., Charles X.

Louis X. was the first who ascended the throne; and although his reign lasted but sixteen months, it is celebrated by three conspicuous events:—

The triple suit for adultery instituted by Louis and his two brothers against his wife and his two sisters-in-law:

The death of Enguerrand de Marigny: and,

The letter of enfranchisement of the people.

The following are, essentially, the historical facts of these three events.

Under the reign of Philip the Fair, and during the absence of Louis who was in Navarre, the three sisters, Blanche, Marguerite and Jeanne, met almost every evening in the hotel de Nesle where their mother-in-law Jeanne,\* wife of Philip the Fair,

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\* There was a queen, residing at the hotel de Nesle, who kept a watch for all who passed by; and those who pleased her

resided. In this tower, laved by the Seine, everything was prepared for an orgie in which three men were to participate. The night was passed in revels and debauchery; and when the day came, the royal courtezans retired to an adjoining room, and their attendants seized the men and threw them into the river.

In order that these murders might be more safely and surely committed, the victims were first sewed up in sacks. Nevertheless, a young student, named Jean Buridan, escaped the fate intended for him and became famous by the publication of this thesis: *Reginam interficere nolite timere; bonum esse*. This

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most, of whatever condition of men they might be, were requested to enter the hotel; and after she had obtained from them what she desired, she caused them to be precipitated from the tower into the water.—BRANTÔME; *Dames galantes*.

Robert Gaguin, a writer of the fifteenth century, while denying that these facts, which were for a time charged upon Jeanne, were justly imputed to that princess, confirms the truth of the quotation just made from Brantôme, by attributing the crimes to the wives of the king's three sons. "These disorders," says he, "gave rise to a tradition injurious to the memory of Jeanne of Navarre. According to this tradition, this princess took several students to her couch; and that no trace might remain of the debauch, she had them thrown from the window of her chamber into the Seine. One alone, named Jean Buridan, had the good fortune to escape. He afterward published this sophism: Fear not to kill a queen: it is good. (*Reginam interficere nolite timere: bonum esse.*)"—*Compendium Roberti Gaguini*.

was all the revenge he could take upon the royal murderess. The facts seem to have been known and admitted in the fifteenth century, since Villon wrote, in his ballad of olden times,

. . . . . la reine  
 Qui commanda que Buridan  
 Fut jeté en un sac en Seine.

The return of Louis put an end to the revels of the tower. But permanent lovers succeeded to fugitive ones. History has preserved the names of those who intrigued with Marguerite, wife of Louis X., and Blanche, wife of Charles IV. They were two brothers named Philip and Walter d'Aulnay; who, after the discovery of their crime, were condemned, flayed alive, drawn at the tail of a horse over the newly-mown meadow of Maubuisson, mutilated, decapitated, and finally suspended on a gibbet by the shoulders and joints of the arms.\*

Marguerite and Blanche were immured in the Château-Gaillard; and Jeanne, at Dourdan.

The heads of the first two were shaven: and Marguerite was afterward strangled, some say with a napkin, others, with her winding-sheet, and buried at Vernon in the church of the Frères-Mineurs (Corde-liers.)

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\* GUILLAUME DE NANGIS.

The trial of Marigny, like that of the Templars, to which this minister was no stranger, remains a mystery between the tomb of the judge and the tomb of the victim. A contemporary writer gives the following account of his sentence and death.

“Enguerrand de Marigny, a knight of very agreeable manners; prudent, wise and skilful; was established in great authority and power over the nation, and was the principal and especial adviser of the late Philip, King of France. Having become, so to speak, more than mayor of the palace, he was at the head of the government of the whole kingdom. It was he who transacted all affairs of difficulty; and every one obeyed his slightest as well as his most authoritative requests. In the Temple, at Paris, he was most shamefully accused, in presence of King Louis, of execrable crimes by Charles, Count de Valois, uncle of King Louis, and by some others instigated thereto by the common people, who were excited against him on account of the debasing of the currency, and of the numerous extortions with which they had been oppressed during the reign of the late King Philip and which were attributed to Marigny’s evil counsels.

“Although the said knight frequently, and with much urgency, demanded a hearing in his own vindication, he, nevertheless, could not obtain it, hindered as he was by the power of the said Count de Valois. The wife and sisters of Enguerrand

were imprisoned ; and at length Enguerrand himself, condemned in presence of the knights, was hanged at Paris on the thieves' gallows.\* He however made no confessions of the sorceries imputed to him ; and said, only, that others with him had been the authors of the exactions and of the debasing of the coin : that he had not been allowed to make a defence, notwithstanding his earnest solicitations and the promise given him at the commencement of the proceedings. This is why his execution, of which many people knew not the cause, was a subject of great surprise and amazement."

Some time before his death, Louis X. published letters of enfranchisement for the people. We quote one of them :

" Louis by the grace of God, King of France and Navarre, etc. etc.

" Whereas, according to the law of nature, every one of right should be born free ; yet, by certain usages or customs, which from great antiquity have been introduced and until now retained in our king-

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\* Montfaucon has brought such misfortune to those who have meddled with it, that the first who caused it to be built (who was Enguerrand de Marigny) was hanged there : and since, having been repaired by the command of one named Pierre Rémy (director of the finances, under Charles the Fair,) he was himself hanged there under Philip de Valois.

(PASQUIER, *Livre VIII.* chap. entitled " More unfortunate than the wood of which the gibbet was made.")

dom, and peradventure, for the misdeeds of their predecessors, many of our common people have fallen into bonds of servitude and of untoward situations,—which greatly displeases us : We, considering that our kingdom is named and known as the kingdom of the Franks, and being willing that the reality of the thing should accord with its name, and that, through us, the condition of the people should improve on the advent of our new government, have by deliberation of our great council, ordained, and do ordain that, generally, throughout our kingdom, so far as it can possibly depend upon us and our successors, such servitude shall be exchanged for freedom : and that to all those who by origin, or ancient custom, or recently by marriage, or by residence in situations of servile rank, are fallen or may fall into bonds of servitude, freedom be given on suitable conditions.”

On the sixteenth of July, 1316, Louis died at his royal mansion in the wood of Vincennes, leaving his queen, Clemence, about to become a mother ; and having had by his first wife, Marguerite, but one daughter, named Jeanne.

Philip, his brother, on receiving intelligence of this event, returned hastily to Paris from Avignon, whither he had gone to accelerate the election of the Pope. He immediately assembled the parliament, and it was by them determined that he should protect and govern the kingdom of France and

Navarre during eighteen years, even in case queen Clemence gave birth to a male child. In consequence of this enactment, he caused a signet to be made on which was engraven, "Philip, son of the King of the French, regent of the kingdoms of France and Navarre."

On the fifteenth of November following, the queen was delivered, at the Louvre, of a son, who was named John and who died on the twentieth of the same month. In all the catalogues of Kings, this sovereign of five days has been omitted.

"The day after his death, he was buried in the church of St. Denis at the feet of his father, by the lord Philip, *who now held legitimately* the rank of King of France and Navarre."

Philip V. was in the same year crowned King at Rheims, with Jeanne his wife, in presence of his uncles, Charles and Louis, and of the peers of the realm, *who, however, took no part in the ceremony.*

The reason for this was, that a party had been organized in favor of the daughter of Louis X. by Marguerite of Burgundy. The Duke of Burgundy made an appeal to the peers, and charged the prelates not to crown Philip until they had deliberated on the rights of the young Jeanne to the crown. Notwithstanding this appeal and prohibition, the coronation was solemnized and the gates of the city were closed and guarded by armed men.

Some time after, an assembly was convened of

nobles, men of influence, prelates, doctors of the University and burgesses. They approbated the coronation and declared unanimously that females should not inherit the crown of France. Mutual friends soon reconciled the differences between the King and the Duke of Burgundy. Indeed, the latter espoused the eldest daughter of Philip and concurred in the general voice which acknowledged him to be King.

Jeanne, the disinherited child of the kingdom, married Philip, son of the Count d'Evreux; to whom she brought Navarre in dowry. This kingdom, thus severed from the crown of France, was not re-united to it until brought back by Henry IV.

Under Philip the Long, the disturbances occasioned by the shepherds (*Pastoureaux*) already described in the reign of Louis IX. again broke forth. Like their predecessors, these bands of armed peasants traversed all France, committed innumerable outrages and finally disappeared. "Thus," says the continuation of Nangis, "this disorderly expedition vanished like a fog : because that which is intrinsically worthless can never long appear to be of any value."

These troubles were succeeded, in 1321, by others excited by the lepers.\* A rumor obtained currency

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\* We have already said that the unhappy beings who, on the return of the Crusaders were seized with this malady, filled the lazar-houses to which Louis VII. left a legacy.



that they had poisoned all the springs and wells in Aquitania. Many were arrested and confessed the crime. The cause of its being committed was thus explained in a letter which the King received from the lord of Parthenay.

One of the most influential of the lepers confessed, at the stake, that a Jew had urged him to commit the crime, had furnished him with the poison and given him ten livres to apply it. The poison was composed of human blood, and of three herbs the names of which he would not reveal. A consecrated wafer was added to these ingredients, and, when dried, the whole was reduced to a powder. After this, it was enclosed in bags, fastened to stones and thrown into the wells or springs.\* The Jews, taken in turn, and questioned, related the following singular story:

“The King of Grenada, disturbed at being so frequently vanquished by the Christians, and unable to revenge himself by arms, determined to obtain vengeance by means of treachery. He therefore

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\* We have also seen with our own eyes in a city in Poitou a female leper, who passing that way, and fearing to be arrested, threw behind her a parcel tied up in a rag which was immediately taken to the tribunal of justice. In it was found the head of an adder, the feet of a toad and some long hairs, mixed in a sort of very black and fetid liquid; so that it was as disgusting to see as to smell. All this, thrown purposely into a large blazing fire, would not burn: a manifest proof that it was one of the most virulent of poisons. — *Continuation of Nangis.*

called together the Jews of his kingdom to devise with them some expedient for destroying Christendom, and promised them an immense reward if they would invent some witchcraft to accomplish this result. The Jews replied that they were so much distrusted by the Christians that it would be impossible to practise any charm upon them personally; but the lepers could easily be employed to throw certain poisons into their springs and wells. The King of Grenada acceded to this proposal; and the Jews conferred with the lepers who, by the intervention of the devil, were so misled as to abjure the Catholic faith; to powder and mingle the body of CHRIST with these mortal poisons; and to undertake to dispense them according to the plan proposed. The principal lepers then collected themselves together from all parts of Christendom and established four general assemblies, to which each noble lazareth-house sent its representatives. In these assemblies the chiefs set forth that 'as their leprosy caused them to appear, in the sight of Christians, vile, abject and unworthy of any consideration, they might well be permitted to devise a plan that should cause the Christians themselves to die or to be afflicted with a similar disease; so that, when all were lepers, no one should be despised.' This project was approved, and every one applied himself to its execution. And thus, by the instrumentality of the Jews, these poisons were scattered abroad."

The King now issued an edict, declaring that all lepers, convicted of joining in this conspiracy, should be delivered to the flames: that those who knew of the conspiracy and had not divulged it, should be perpetually imprisoned: and that all guilty leprous females who were pregnant should be imprisoned until their accouchement, and immediately afterward put to death.

The executions followed this edict. Many Jews were burned in Aquitania. At Chinon, a large pit was digged in the earth and a fire was kindled within it, where, in one day, one hundred and sixty Jews of both sexes were consumed. "Many among them, both men and women," says the chronicle that furnishes these details, "sang as if they were about to attend a wedding and jumped gaily into the pit. Many widows caused their own children to be thrown into the flames lest they might be carried away and baptized by the Christians."

At Vitri, forty Jews, suspected of this crime, were confined in the King's prison. They were certain of their doom, but determined not to die by the hands of the uncircumcised and agreed that one of their own number should slay the rest. By a unanimous choice they designated for this last and terrible office the eldest of the company—an old man with white beard, whom they called Saint, on account of his goodness, and Father, on account of his age. He, however, would not undertake to fulfil the dreadful

task, unless some one should be appointed to aid him. Accordingly, the youngest among them, a youth of sixteen, was chosen as his assistant. A knife was placed in the hands of each of these two, and they began the work of death without hesitation, although among the victims were the old man's sons and the young man's father. When all were destroyed but the two executioners, they stood before each other, bathed in blood, disputing which should kill the other. At length, they drew lots and death fell to the old man. He then blessed the youth, held forth his neck and died. The youth now took from the slaughtered bodies all the gold he could find, made a rope of their clothes, and fastening it to a bar in the prison, climbed through a passage that he had sawed in the gratings, and, as the night was dark, let himself down undiscovered. When he came to the end of the rope, he extended his feet as far as possible downward, but could touch nothing — the rope was too short! and a space which he had no means of estimating, separated him from the ground. Too much exhausted to re-ascend, he was forced to let go his hold, and fell a distance of twenty feet to the earth; but the violence of the fall was so much increased by the weight of the gold which encumbered him, that his leg was broken.

He dragged himself about a quarter of a league from the place of his descent, but could go no further; and here, in the morning, he was discovered

by the Christians. Being delivered up to justice, he made a full confession of these things, and was hanged with the bodies of those whom he had slain.

Philip was busied with the cares of government when he fell ill. It was his purpose to establish throughout his kingdom a uniform measure for wine, grain and merchandise; and to have a uniform coinage of money. This last project, in especial, met with lively opposition from the nobles, the prelates and the communes. Meantime, the King's disease made slow but sure progress. He lay for five months on a bed of pain. "Some doubted if it were not the maledictions of the people—on account of the exactions and extortions, till then unheard of, with which he overwhelmed them—that caused him to fall ill." At length, on the third of February, 1321, he expired, after having received all the ecclesiastical sacraments; and *Charles, Count de la Marche, his brother, succeeded him without any dispute or opposition.\**

Charles IV., after the condemnation of his wife, Blanche, for adultery, had easily obtained a decree of divorce from the holy father. He then espoused Mary of Luxembourg;† but she died shortly after giving untimely birth to a son who lived but a few

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\* Continuation of Guillaume de Nangis.

† In the year 1322.

days. Two years afterward, he married Jeanne d'Evreux, by whom he had no male children.

From the commencement of his reign—which opened during the troubles with Italy and England—Charles merited the appellation of the dispenser of Justice, which history has since conferred upon him. “A great lord, named Jourdain,” says de Lille, “to whom the King, at the prayer of Pope John, had remitted the punishment of eighteen crimes whereof he stood accused, each of which was punishable by death, *having added other crimes to those already committed, viz., the ravishment of young maidens; the perpetration of homicide; the entertaining of bad men and murderers; the protecting of brigands and rising against the King; and having at last killed with his own hands a servant of the King wearing the royal livery—was summoned to trial at Paris.*”

“He came, accordingly, attended by a numerous and brilliant suite; but this did not prevent the King, after an examination, from confining him in the Châtelet. He was afterward condemned to death by the doctors of the law, dragged at a horse’s tail, and hanged on the public gibbet.”

Charles, soon after, gave a second proof of his inflexible justice. The lord of Parthenay, a noble and powerful man in Poitou, was accused of heresy; and on this accusation was summoned to an audience before the King at Paris. He repaired thither; but,

excepting to the inquisitor who accused him, he refused to answer the interrogatories propounded, and appealed to the Pope. Upon this, Charles restored to him his estates which had already been confiscated, and sent him with an escort to the Pontiff; "not wishing," he said, "to shut from any one the road to his rights."

The war with England, which for some time had been extinguished, now broke forth again. The ground for a renewal of hostilities was a dispute concerning a château that the lord of Montpesat had erected in Gascony. The King of France claimed the château because, he averred, it was built on his territory; the King of England, on the contrary, insisted that the territory was his and that the château necessarily pertained to him. The question was at first submitted to arbitrators who gave judgment in favor of the King of France. But the English King refused his assent to the decision; and a war was commenced between these old enemies that terminated only on the deposition of Edward II.\*

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\* After many events and adventures, Edward II., accused before the parliament of having violated the laws of the country, and of having reposed confidence in unworthy ministers, was, by a solemn decree, deposed and condemned to perpetual imprisonment, the crown passing immediately to Edward III. The sentence was read to him in prison in these terms: "I, William Trussel, proxy of the parliament and of the whole English nation, declare to you in their name and by their au-

Charles IV. expired at his royal abode in the wood of Vincennes on the first of February, 1328. Finding that his death was near at hand, he called his lords around his bed and told them that if the queen, who was soon to be confined, should be delivered of a son, he desired his cousin-german, Philip de Valois, to be its guardian; if, on the contrary, the child should be a daughter, the kingdom must be given to him whom they thought most worthy.\*

The queen was delivered of a daughter: and with Charles IV. the first branch of the Capetians became extinct.

The States-general elected Philip de Valois, his cousin-german, although Edward III. of England was his nephew, and consequently his nearest relation;† this relation, however, was by his mother's

thority that I revoke and retract the homage I have rendered you; and, from this moment, I deprive you of the royal power, and protest that I will no longer obey you as my King."—CHATEAUBRIAND; *analyse raisonnée de l'histoire de France*.

\* When he perceived that he must die, he devised that if, perchance, the queen should lie-in of a son, Messer Philip de Valois, his cousin-german, should be its guardian and regent of the kingdom, until that his son was old enough to reign: but if the child were a daughter, the twelve peers and the high barons of France should counsel and advise among themselves as to its disposal, and should give the kingdom to whoever ought to have it.—JEAN FROISSARD.

† Edward II. married Isabelle of France, sister of Charles the Fair, of whom was born Edward III.



side. The reason given by the lords for this substitution was, says Froissard, "*that the kingdom of France is of such high nobility that it ought not, by inheritance, to descend to a female, nor, consequently, to the son of such female; and they caused my lord Philip to be crowned at Rheims on the day of Trinity, in the year of Grace 1328, — since which, great war and desolation have happened to the kingdom of France, and to many countries.*"



## C O N C L U S I O N .



## CONCLUSION.

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WE have now brought our chronological labor to a close. What we have thus far written is a simple record of dates and facts—the result of mere historical research, in which the imagination of the poet has no share; unless the religious theories we have hazarded and the political theory we are now to offer, be regarded as poetical.

We concluded with the death of Charles IV., because, on the accession of Philip de Valois, a new era commenced for France. The national monarchy had attained its loftiest point; and was to descend, step by step, from the feudal heights where Hugh Capet laid the foundation of his edifice, to the popular plains where Louis-Philippe—probably the last King of this race—has pitched his tent of a day.

Arrived at the summit of this mountain, let us cast a last glance before and behind us: a glance which will extend on one side to the Gaul of Cæsar;

and, on the other, to the France of Napoleon. To our readers this will be, at once, a summary of what we have written and a programme of what we have yet to write.

Gaul, conquered by Cæsar, became, under Augustus, a Roman province. The Emperors sent thither a governor who ruled over the prefects : this governor received his orders directly from the republic and transmitted them to his agents. The policy generally adopted for other conquered countries, was also adopted for Gaul. The government was mild and paternal ; and, as civilization brought to barbarism pleasures, arts and enjoyments previously unknown to the latter, she had no difficulty, corrupter as she was, in moulding the primitive nations of Gaul to the Roman manners. The South especially—with its fertile plains which were separated from Italy but by the Alps ; its shores laved by the same sea ; its inhabitants breathing an air perfumed like that of Sorrento and Pæstum—was the favorite portion of the province. The Roman Narbo arose near the Grecian Massilia ; Arles had an amphitheatre ; Nismes, a circus ; Autun, a school ; Lyons, temples. Native legions, each soldier of which was proud to bear the name of Roman citizen, were raised in the Narbonnaise ; and, traversing Gaul, subjected Brittany to the empire,—a conquest which the empire had been unable to achieve.

The Frank conquest succeeded to the Roman sovereignty ; barbarism superseded civilization, and it was high time : for the corruption that infected the heart of the Empire was extending to its extremities. But the Frank sword severed Gaul from the Roman body and saved it. It is remarkable that the civilization which conquers barbarism is fraught with inherent decay : while the barbarism that conquers civilization bears a fertilizing and self-perpetuating principle.

The Frank chiefs retained so much of the Roman constitution as they could adapt to their manners and their interests. The government was concentrated in one man under Mere-wig and Hlodo-wig ; it was divided under their successors.

The division of power led to the division of property. As soon as the chieftainry possessed lands, it sought a representative in the government, and the office of Mayor of the Palace was created to meet its demand. This office underwent the same progressive variations as the royalty it was one day to supersede. Under Sighe-bert\* and his predecessors, the incumbent held it for a term : under Hlot-her, for life : and, under Hlodo-wig II., it became hereditary : nevertheless, like royalty, it was

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\* The first Mayor of the Palace of whom we have any account was Goggon, who was sent from Sighe-bert to Athanagilde to ask from him the hand of Brunehilde.

of elective origin, "*Reges ex nobilitate, duces ex virtute sumunt.*" But the moment that one of these rival dignities abandoned its original principle, the other followed the example.

The authority of the Frank Kings was by no means absolute. In addition to the Mayor of the Palace, placed near the throne to represent the chieftainry, there were also councils composed of military leaders, who conferred with the King on the affairs of the nation,\* and reported the result of such conference to the troops, on the occasion of the grand reviews which ordinarily took place in the month of March or May. Things continued thus until the people, represented by the Church, found themselves, in turn, possessed of a portion of territory. Then the bishops entered into the councils of the King; ecclesiastical deputies were sent to the Champ de Mars, or de Mai; and the three orders of proprietaries were represented: royalty, by the King; chieftainry, by the Mayor; and the Church or the people, by the bishops.

The overthrow of the Merovingian by the Carolingian dynasty created a vacuum in the representation of these powers. The chieftainry had overcome royalty and taken its place; and it cherished the belief that the two were inseparably amalgamated, forget-

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\*Of the *conquering* nation: as for the conquered nation, there was no discussion of its interests, for it was yet in slavery.



ting that under the very scythe of the mower a new harvest is always springing up. Chieftainry now no longer existed as a separate power, and no longer needed a distinct representative ; it was blended with royalty and could not elect the King. Consequently, the office of Mayor of the Palace was suppressed, and Charlemagne took for the inscription on his coin, *Carolus, gratia DEI rex.*

Thus, with the promotion of the chieftainry to the throne, the elective principle that made Kings was destroyed.

Charlemagne was, therefore, the first and the last absolute monarch of the conquering race ; for his predecessors had been obliged to wrestle with the chieftainry, and his successors were to contend with the vassalage. During his reign, there was nothing bearing the similitude of resistance on the part of a class whose heads scarcely rose above the ground that he trod with his sandals. His commands were neither approved nor opposed : they were issued and obeyed. He desired laws—and the Capitularia superseded the Theodosian code: he desired an army—it arose : he desired a victory — it was won.

This union of authority and strength was needed, that Charlemagne might accomplish his mission. It was necessary that one intelligence should erect on one plan the ramparts of this mighty empire, in order that barbarism, unable to find a single weak point, might crush itself against the adamantine barrier.

And it was necessary that Charlemagne's reign should be a long one, for he alone could accomplish the prodigious task he had undertaken.

We have already expressed our views of the dismemberment of the empire. The heirs of Charlemagne made—but on a much larger scale—the same division as the sons of Hlodowig had done; and the same causes brought about the same result, viz., the creation of a new seigneurial *caste*, by means of the grants of lands that the Carolingian and Merovingian Kings were obliged to concede; first, to gain the throne and afterward to keep it. Charlemagne, breaking from the trammels of the Frank Chiefs, was the first who adopted the inscription on money—which he, alone, had the right to coin—*Carolus, gratia DEI rex*. The French lords, in turn, escaping from the Frank domination, denied that their prerogative emanated from royalty, as Charlemagne had denied that his emanated from the chieftainry: and, two centuries later, they arrogated to themselves not only the right to coin money, like the Emperors, but also—after the example of Charlemagne—to stamp upon it *gratia DEI*.\*

We have also explained in what manner the separation was effected between the Frank royalty and

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\* In 865, Odon, son of Raymond, was the first to set this example, by taking the title of Count of Toulouse and Marquis of Gothia, *by the grace of God*.

the French seignior; and how the territorial proprietors took part with the interests of the soil against the interests of royalty, although the Lords and the Kings were of the same race. We entered into details sufficiently minute of the rise, struggle and victory of the national party; and it is not necessary now to present another picture of this epoch of change, placed between the royalty of the conquest and the royalty of the nation.

When Hugh Capet ascended the throne previously occupied by Eudes and Raoul — these first French Kings, who were thrust in among the German Kings — he found territorial France divided between seven great proprietaries, holding their possessions no longer by royal grant and tolerance, under the title of alleu or fiefs, but, *by the grace of God*. The monarchical edifice which he was to erect, was therefore to differ in many respects from that of Charlemagne and of Hlodo-wig. The royalty conferred on him much more nearly resembled the presidency of an aristocratic republic than the dictatorship of an empire. He was the first, but by no means the richest or the most powerful, among his peers. Consequently, the first act of the new King was to increase the number of his grand vassals to twelve, by introducing among them ecclesiastical peers in order to secure the support of the Church; and then, upon the solid basis of these twelve mighty

columns, which represented the grand vassalage, he placed the dome of the national monarchy.\*

When the benefits that this first era was to produce were realized: that is to say, when a language, as new and national as the monarchy, had succeeded to the language of the conquest; when the Crusades had opened the way for the introduction of arts and sciences from the East; when the bull of Alexander III., which declared all Christians free, had led to the enfranchisement of the serfs; when, finally, Philip the Fair, aiming the first blow at feudal monarchy, had modified it by the creation of the Tiers-Etats, and established the seat and the sessions of parliament, — then the time arrived for this monarchy, which had fulfilled its destiny, to give place to another which had its destiny to accomplish. *Then* Philip de Valois appeared, struck the hatchet in the edifice of Hugh Capet, and the head of Clisson fell.

Tanneguy Duchâtel inherited the hatchet of Philip de Valois. Seventy years after Philip, he, in turn, struck, and the head of John of Burgundy fell.

Louis XI., therefore, on entering this edifice, found

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\* We must beg our readers to follow us with some attention in the theory we are about to develop: not because it is complicated, but because it is simple; and because nothing is more difficult of belief than a simple proposition of which we have never before thought. Besides, this theory, whether true or false, superficial or profound, grave or ridiculous, is entirely *our own*.

two of the feudal columns, by which its dome was sustained, already demolished. His task was to destroy the remainder, and he was not recreant to his duty. He had scarcely ascended the throne before he commenced his labor.

Nothing was then to be seen but feudal ruins. The wrecks of the houses of Berri, Saint-Pol, Nemours, Burgundy, Guienne and Anjou were strewn around ; and doubtless the edifice would have fallen, had not the King upheld the dome with one hand while he beat down the columns with the other.

He at last stood alone, supporting by his single arm the ponderous dome, which his genius enabled him to uphold by keeping it at a perfect equipoise.

Louis XI. was the first absolute sovereign of the national monarchy ; but he bequeathed despotic power to successors too feeble to maintain it. The grand vassalage, demolished by him, was succeeded under the reigns of Charles VIII. and Louis XII. by the grand seigniorship. So that, when Francis I. ascended the throne — alarmed at beholding the oscillations of the monarchy ; seeking its primitive supports and not finding them ; looking for the twelve men of iron and meeting only two hundred men of velvet — he proposed to remedy the loss of the twelve massive columns by supplying their places with a multitude of inferior ones ; by substituting great seignors for great vassals ; he cared not that the dome was depressed to the lower level of these new col-

umns, provided the edifice was strengthened by such depression. And, in fact, although the supports of his erection were less elevated and, individually, weaker than the old ones; they were not, in the aggregate, less solid; for they constantly represented property; and their multiplication was in exact harmony with the territorial division that had taken place between his own reign and that of the eleventh Louis.\*

Francis I. was, therefore, the founder of the monarchy of the grand seigniory, as Hugh Capet had been of that of the grand vassalage.

Then, when this second era of national royalty had brought forth its fruits: when printing had given some stability to the revival of letters and sciences; when Rabelais and Montaigne had refined the language; when the arts had appeared in France in the train of Primaticcio and Leonardo da Vinci; when Luther in Germany, Wicliff in England, and Calvin in France had, by religious reformation, prepared the way for political reformation; when the evacuation of Calais (with which event the last trace of the conquest of Edward III. disappeared from our soil) determined our military limits; when the eve of St. Bartholomew, with a result contrary to what

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\* In our investigations we shall follow the division of property with care in all its details: for this base, enlarged by the revolution, will one day be the only solid pedestal of Liberty.

was anticipated, caused religion and royalty which were held in each other's embraces to slip and totter in Huguenot blood; when, finally, the execution of La Mole, the assassination of the Guises, and the arrest of Biron announced to the grand seigniory—as the death of Clisson and John of Burgundy had formerly announced to the grand vassalage—that their time was fulfilled and their hour had come: *then*, like a blazing comet in the firmament, appeared RICHELIEU; that mighty destroyer who was to drain on the scaffold all the blood that civil war and duelling had left in the veins of the noblesse.

Louis XI. had now been dead one hundred and forty-nine years.\*

We need not say that the mission of these two men was the same. And it is well known that Richelieu accomplished his as religiously as Louis XI. had done.

Louis XIV., therefore, found the monarchical edifice not only deprived of the support of its two hundred columns, but completely disembarassed of every vestige of their ruins. The throne was so equipoised upon levelled France that, child as this monarch then was, he ascended it without stumbling. Afterward, when he attained his majority, the road to absolute power displayed itself before him marked

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\* Richelieu entered the council in 1624. The first executions, by his command, took place in 1625 and 1626.

out by so broad a foot that the disciple had but to follow his master's steps without fear of going astray. And this was necessary for Louis XIV.: he had not the genius, but only the education, for despotism.

He did not, however, the less accomplish his mission. He made himself the centre of the kingdom. He attached to himself all the springs of royalty, and held them with such a firm and long continued tension that he foresaw they would snap in pieces in the hands of his successors.

The regency now came, spread its compost over the kingdom, and aristocracy sprang up from the soil.

Louis XV., when his minority terminated, found himself in a position similar to that of Francis I. and Hugh Capet. The monarchy was to be re-organized. The ground occupied by the grand seigniory and the grand vassalage was, in effect, vacant; for strong and vigorous trunks had given place to feeble saplings. It was therefore necessary to depress the monarchical dome still lower, and again substitute the quantity for the strength of its supporters. In place of the twelve grand vassals of Hugh Capet, and the two hundred grand lords of Francis I., Louis XV. was forced to prop his tottering edifice with the fifty thousand aristocrats of the Orleans regency.

Finally; when this third era of the national royalty had brought forth its fruits—fruits of the Lake Asphaltus, full of ashes and rottenness;—when the



Dubois's and the Laws, the Pompadours and the Dubarrys had destroyed the respect due to royalty ; when the Voltaires, and the Diderots, the d'Alemberts and the Grimms had stifled the faith due to religion ;—religion, that nurse of the people, and royalty, that foundress of society, sullied by their contact with men, re-ascended to the God who gave them.

Their flight left the monarchy of divine right defenceless ; and, at the distance of but four years, Louis XVI. saw gleaming in the East the flames of the Bastile, and, in the West, the iron of the guillotine.

It was now no longer a man that came to destroy, for one man had been incompetent to the task of destruction. A whole nation arose ; and, increasing her workmen with the increase of her task, she sent four hundred proxies to hew down the aristocracy, daughter of the grand seigniory and grand-daughter of the grand vassalage.

On the twenty-second of September, 1792, the National Convention laid hold of the hereditary hatchet,

Richelieu had now been dead one hundred and forty-nine years.

There is something singular in this coincidence of dates : Richelieu appeared one hundred and forty-nine years after Louis XI. ; and the Convention one hundred and forty-nine years after Richelieu.

Let us now correct an error which some have committed through ignorance and others have sanctioned through bad faith.

The year 1793 gave birth to a revolution, but not to a republic : this latter word was adopted in hatred of royalty, and not as descriptive of existing institutions. Thus, the axe of the guillotine is triangular, and it is by a triangle that we symbolize God : but who would dare to say that the guillotine and the Deity are identical ?

The Thermidorian reaction saved the lives of the remainder of the aristocracy who were about to fall under the hand of Robespierre ; the axe, raised against them, inflicted a deep, but not a mortal wound ; and the Bourbons found them still surviving when they re-entered France in 1814. The old monarchy recognised its ancient support and gave into its safe-keeping the Chamber of Peers—that last fortress of the royalty by divine right.

Those who most narrowly watched the progress of events in France were wholly perplexed by the precocious accident of the ninth Thermidor ; and twenty years later they were astonished to behold alive, and entrenched in the heart of France, that aristocracy which they believed to have been exterminated by the Convention.

Immediately the sun of July arose ; and, for three days, like the sun of Joshua, it stood still in the Heavens.

Then occurred that marvellous revolution — a revolution that did not exceed its commission ; that attained only what it was destined to attain ; that destroyed only what it was destined to destroy. A revolution believed to be new ; but which was the offspring of 1793. A revolution which lasted only three days, because it had only the wreck of aristocracy to exterminate : and which, scorning to assail so feeble a body with axe or sword, was content to strike it powerless with a law, and a decree, as is done to a crazy old man whom a family council interdicts.

The law was that of the tenth of December, 1831, abolishing the right of succession to the peerage : and,

The decree was that of the sixteenth of December, 1832, declaring that any one might style himself Count or Marquis.\*

The day after these two things were done, the revolution of July was completed ; for aristocracy, if not dead, was manacled. The genuine party of the Chamber of Peers, represented by the Fitz-

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\* The 259th article of the ancient Code was thus expressed : "Whoever shall have publicly worn a costume, uniform, or order which does not belong to him, *or assume noble titles which have not been legally conferred on him*, shall be punished by an imprisonment of from six months to two years." On a revision of the Code the words in italics were stricken out as being incompatible with our customs.

James's and the Châteaubriands, left the Palace of the Luxembourg, to return thither no more ; and with them all aristocratic influence disappeared from the realm, to give place to that of the landed interest.

Louis-Philippe placed himself near expiring royalty, like an heir at the pillow of a dying testator, and seized the will which the people might have broken. But the people, with unerring intelligence, perceived that there was a last form of monarchy yet to be exhausted, and that Louis-Philippe was the representative of this form. They were therefore content to erase from the hereditary escutcheon the *gratia DEI* : and if they did not inscribe *gratia populi* in its place, it was because they were certain that the King would never cease to remember from whom his power emanated.

New supports now became indispensable to the new monarchical edifice. The fifty thousand aristocrats of Louis XV. had ceased to exist ; the two hundred great lords of Francis I. had fallen ; the twelve grand vassals of Hugh Capet slept in their feudal sepulchre : and, in the place of these abolished orders, which had held privileges restricted to the few, there arose on all sides wealth and industry which propose equal privileges to all. Louis-Philippe had not even the choice between the sympathies of birth and the exigencies of the moment : in place of the fifty thousand aristocrats of Louis XV., there

sprang up the hundred and sixty thousand great proprietaries and artizans of the restoration ; and the monarchical dome was brought still nearer to the people ; it was its lowest and its last descent.

Thus, after each revolution that demolished, came the calm that re-constructed. After each harvest that was mowed, came the fallow ground where a new harvest was germinated. After the reign of Louis XI.—that terror of the grand vassalage — came the reigns of Charles VIII. and Louis XII. in which sprang up the grand seigniory. After the reigns of Louis XIII. and Louis XIV — that '93 of the grand seigniory — came the regency, during which aristocracy sprang up. And, finally, after the reign of the Committee of Public Safety, which mowed down the aristocrats, came the restoration, during which sprang up *la grande propriété*.

We wish to point out, in this connexion, the perfect analogy that existed between those who re-organized the society of the several epochs and those who composed that society :

Louis-Philippe, with his costume so well known as to be proverbial, his manners so simple as to become a model, — is he not the type of the great landed and operative interests ?

Louis XV., with his coat of velvet covered with embroidery and spangles, his silken vest, his sword with hilt of steel and knot of ribbons, his profligate manners, his libertine spirit, his selfishness for the

present and recklessness for the future,—is he not a complete type of the aristocrats?

Francis I., with his cap surmounted by plumes, his doublet of silk, his shoes of slashed velvet, his spirit elegantly haughty, and his manners nobly debauched,—is he not a perfect type of the grand seigniory?

And Hugh Capet, their common ancestor, encased in his iron cuirass, leaning on his iron sword and severe in his iron manners,—does he not appear, standing on the horizon of monarchy, an exact type of the grand vassalage?

One question, which we have avoided for fear of interrupting the course of our argument, will here naturally suggest itself to the minds of our readers.

In this great system of monarchical decline which has just been presented, what disposition is to be made of Napoleon?

We answer that, according to our theory, three men have from all eternity been foreordained to accomplish the work of social regeneration: Cæsar, Charlemagne and Napoleon.

Cæsar was to pave the way for Christianity;

Charlemagne, for civilization;

Napoleon, for liberty.\*

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\* Every new and bold idea has the appearance, at first sight, of being paradoxical; the reader must first listen to ours and afterward judge of it.

We have already shown in what manner Cæsar paved the way for Christianity by collecting, within the colossal embrace of Rome, fourteen nations upon whom CHRIST arose.

We have also explained how Charlemagne prepared the way for civilization, by opposing the ramparts of his vast empire to the migration of barbarians.

We will now relate how Napoleon prepared the way for liberty.

When Napoleon, on the 18th Brumaire, took possession of France, she was still feverish with the excitement of civil war ; and, in one of her paroxysms, she had thrown herself quite in advance of other nations ; the equilibrium of general progression was deranged by the excess of individual progression. France, in short, was a maniac for liberty, whom, according to Kings, it was necessary to manacle in order to cure.

Napoleon appeared with his two-fold propensity for despotism and war ; his two-fold nature, popular and aristocratic : he was behind the ideas of France, but in advance of the ideas of Europe : a man of resistance, as to his own people ; but of progression, as to others.

The Kings of other nations most injudiciously made war upon him !

Napoleon then collected together whatever was the purest, the most intelligent and the most pro-

gressive in France. Of this *materiel* he formed armies and spread them over Europe. Everywhere they carried death to Kings, but life to the people. Wherever the spirit of France passed, liberty made a gigantic stride in its footsteps, sowing the seed of revolutions as the sower casts the grain into his furrows. Napoleon fell in 1815, and scarcely three years had rolled away, ere the revolutionary fields were ready for the harvest.

In 1818, the grand Duchies of Baden and Bavaria claimed and obtained a constitution.

In 1819, Wirtemberg claimed a constitution and obtained it.

In 1820. Revolution and constitution of the Cortes of Spain and Portugal.

In 1820. Revolution and constitution of Naples and Piedmont.

In 1821. Insurrection of the Greeks against Turkey.

In 1823. Institution of the States in Prussia.

One nation alone, by its topographical situation, escaped this progressive influence ; and was too distant for France to gain a foothold upon its soil. Napoleon, by constantly fixing his eyes on it, became at last habituated to this distance, which appeared, at first, possible, and then easy, to surmount. Let but a pretext arise, and he would conquer Russia, as he had conquered Italy, Egypt, Germany, Austria and Spain. This pretext soon presented itself.



An English vessel entered a port of the Baltic, in defiance of continental promises ; and war was immediately declared by Napoleon the Great against his brother-despot Alexander I., the Czar of all the Russias.

At the first glance, it seemed as if the purposes of Providence were to be baffled by the despotic instinct of a man. France entered into Russia, but liberty and slavery could not coalesce. No seed would germinate in that frozen soil. Not only armies, but a whole people retired before the French troops. It was a deserted country they invaded ; it was a burning capital they conquered : for when they entered Moscow it was depopulated and in flames.

Then the mission of Napoleon was accomplished and the hour of his downfall had arrived : for liberty was now to gain from his fall as much as she had formerly done from his elevation. The Czar, so prudent before a conquering foe, became rash before a vanquished one : he retreated from the victor, but he pursued the fugitive.

God therefore withdrew his hand from Napoleon : and, to make His intervention in human affairs visible to all, He changed the nature of the contest. Man no longer contended with man, but the order of the seasons was reversed : snow and cold were sent upon the earth before their time, and the elements destroyed an army.

And thus, by unseen Wisdom, are events caused to work together. Paris had been unable to carry civilization to Moscow; Moscow, therefore, must come to seek it at Paris. Two years after the conflagration of his own capital, Alexander entered that which had been Napoleon's.

But his sojourn was of too short a duration. His soldiers scarcely touched the soil of France; and the sun which would have enlightened, only dazzled them.

The Lord then recalled his chosen instrument. Napoleon re-appeared, and the gladiator, still bleeding from his last contest, came not to combat but to hold forth his throat at Waterloo.

Then Paris re-opened her gates to the Czar and his barbarian host: and, this time, the men of the Volga and the Don dwelt for three years on the banks of the Seine. After this, impressed with new and strange ideas, stammering the unknown names of civilization and enfranchisement, they returned with regret to their rude country. Eight years afterward, a republican conspiracy burst out at St. Petersburg.

Turn over the leaves of the immense volume of the past; and say in what other epoch so many thrones have trembled and so many Kings fled along the high-ways. And wherefore? Because their half-slain enemy was interred alive; and the modern Enceladus shook the world each time he moved within his tomb.

Thus came at intervals of nine centuries, and as living proofs of what we have advanced — that genius is blind in proportion as it is mighty —

Cæsar, *the pagan*, preparing the way for Christianity ;

Charlemagne, *the barbarian*, preparing the way for civilization ;

Napoleon, *the despot*, preparing the way for liberty

And now the word of CHRIST is in full progress of accomplishment : the nations march with even steps toward liberty — one after another, it is true, but still with no interval between them ; and whatever the little men who govern her may have done in her great name, France has, nevertheless, preserved her revolutionary position in the vanguard of the nations.

Two persons, alone, could have forced her to change this position and deviate from her route ; for they were the representatives of two principles opposed to her progressive principle : they were,

Napoleon II. and Henry V.

Napoleon II. represented the principle of despotism ; and,

Henry V. the principle of legitimacy.

The LORD stretched forth his hands and grasped them at the two extremities of Europe : one, at the castle of Schoenbrunn, and the other, at the citadel of Blaye.

And now, what has become of Napoleon II. and Henry V ?

Having taken a rapid but exact view of the past, let us now glance at the present — in which, perhaps we may gain some glimmerings of the future.

We have followed the monarchy over the four great stepping-stones which it has surmounted and which have crumbled behind it—pointing out, by their successive ruin, the impossibility of returning by the same route. We have seen the monarchy descending to our own time leaning, by turns, on the twelve grand vassals of Hugh Capet, the two hundred great lords of Francis I. and the fifty thousand aristocrats of Louis XV. She now makes a halt before us, sustained by the one hundred and sixty thousand great proprietaries and working-men, of whom Louis-Philippe is the representative. Let us see whether this aristocratic representation will suffice for France, and whether the whole population will be contented with it.

We do not believe they will.

The number of proprietaries actually existing in France amounts, according to the highest estimates, to five millions ; and, according to the more moderate calculation, to four millions and a half. We shall adopt the latter for our basis, as it is the lowest.

Among these four and a half millions of proprietaries, the copy-holders, of two hundred francs and

upward, form a total of one hundred and thirteen thousand : the patentees of the great cities, such as Paris, Lyons, Bordeaux, Marseilles, Nantes, Rouen, etc. etc. complete the number of one hundred and sixty thousand electors — the total amount for 1831. The manufacturing interest is therefore joined to the landed interest in the proportion of one to four.

Deduct this hundred and thirteen thousand from the total of four and a half millions ; and we have four millions, three hundred and eighty-seven thousand proprietaries cut off from the right of representation in the Chamber : nevertheless, these political *parias* pay a little more than two thirds of the national taxes, while the one hundred and thirteen thousand electors pay something less than one third.

Let us now take from this one hundred and thirteen thousand, those who are eligible to election ; and we have fourteen thousand copy-holders at five hundred francs each, and ninety-nine thousand at two hundred francs.

Consequently, but fourteen thousand individuals are entitled to take an active part in the government : the remaining ninety-nine thousand take only a factitious part therein, by voting for men who do not even represent them, since the parties eligible are their superiors in rights and in fortune.

Now, among these fourteen thousand aristocrats of property who are qualified to become deputies — and therefore ministers, peers, counsellors of State,

receivers-general and prefects ; and, indeed, anything at will, of which the rest are incapable and unworthy—nearly seven thousand, i. e. one half, are embarrassed with ruinous mortgages, and look to their official position to repair, by the ministerial sale of their votes, their dilapidated fortunes.

Thus, the government of Louis-Philippe is in reality a representation of the interests of only fourteen thousand privileged persons—although it appears, at first sight, to rest upon one hundred and sixty thousand electors ; and although its advocates have the hardihood to aver that its basis is the whole proprietary-interest of four and a half millions of men.

It is here that we differ from the republican theories that have preceded ours—since, instead of seeking for the spirit of progression among the poorer classes, we hope to find it in those who are possessors of property : for, at the present day, the owners of property are almost a majority in France. Because, if each of these four and a half millions of proprietaries, have but a son, a nephew, or any other heir, we find at once nine millions of individuals having the same interests, cherishing the same desire ; a desire of preservation : a desire against which all attempt at spoliation would be vain, even if the property were not, in the hands of its possessors, unalienable as it is : since, if we separate the old men, women and children from the twenty millions of inhabitants that remain, the number of

those who own nothing (*prolétaires*)\* would fall short of this number of proprietaries. But, we repeat, property is unalienable, whatever may have been said by the lying voice of the government, which falsely proclaims itself the representative of property to induce the owners thereof to unite for its support; and which has succeeded in making these owners believe, for the moment, that there is no security to their property but in the protection it offers them against the agrarian encroachments of those who own nothing.

It is necessary, then, only to quiet a few groundless fears, in order to rally to the progressive movement, the general proprietary-interest, to which a moment of irresolution has given the appearance of retrograding; but this appearance will be changed the instant it is made obvious that the general good calls for the progressive principle and will not bring individual interest into jeopardy by its operation.

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\* As this word cannot be translated, its definition, as given by *Jean Reynaud*, is here subjoined: "I give the name of *prolétaires* to those men who *produce* the riches of the nation, yet *possess* only the daily wages of their labor, which labor, too, depends on causes beyond their control. They draw, day by day, from their toil, but a scanty portion; and that portion is constantly decreasing by competition. They look to the morrow with a hope as unstable as the irregular fluctuations of trade, and the prospect of their old age is bounded by the hospital and the grave."

Let us prove, then, that these fears are unfounded.

If our readers have followed with attention the preceding history of France, they must have remarked that each successive revolution resulted in the removal of property from the hands in which it was found and its transfer, by division, into more numerous hands—thus always bringing it nearer to the people. This is because the men who are born upon a territory, have, alone, the right of possessing that territory : for, as God made them for the land, so He made the land for them. Chance may for a longer or shorter period keep them from its possession, but harmony is interrupted until it is restored to them again. Hence arise revolutions, which appear to derange the social order ; but which, in reality, tend to the primitive re-organization of that order.

It will be borne in mind that Cæsar converted Gaul into a Roman province, and its inhabitants into Roman citizens. That is to say, in the annexation of Gaul to the empire, the vanquished people lost none of their rights to the soil on which they dwelt ; and this is not strange, for the Romans did not emigrate into the provinces they conquered. The Roman spirit felt circumscribed within the limits of the universe ; but the Roman people dwelt at ease in Rome.

The character of the Frank conquest was exactly the reverse of this. The colonies, conducted by Mere-wig had been forcibly driven from Germany



by the Eastern hordes that burst from the fastnesses of Asia, and appeared in Europe under the command of Alaric and Attila. It was not, therefore, a thirst for the glory of arms that urged toward Gaul these armed beggars in quest of a kingdom—but the necessity of a refuge for their fathers, their wives and their children. And as at this time all countries were inhabited, they sought and took possession of the territory of a people weaker than themselves under the pretext that those stronger than themselves had robbed them of their original domains.

We have therefore seen the first Kings of France seize upon Gaul and divide the conquest among their chiefs, without pausing to consider that they possessed it only by right of the stronger.

We have also seen that when the national reaction took place, the men of the conquest sided with the interest of the French soil against the Frank dynasty. They thus restored to the kingdom its nationality : but, by constituting themselves into privileged classes, they retained the lands of the nation.

Louis XI. effected a transfer of these lands from the grand vassalage to the grand seigniorship ; and Richelieu transferred them from the grand seigniorship to the aristocracy : but the Convention alone conveyed them from the aristocracy to the people. It is therefore only since '93, that these lands have been

—as in the time of the Gauls—in the hands of those who have the right to possess them. But to the attainment of this end, fourteen centuries and six revolutions were requisite ; and, that all might be legal, as there had been prescription, redemption became necessary.

To accomplish this last necessity — and those who gained most by the result are perhaps the least conscious of their obligation — the Convention decreed that enormous issue of assignats, (forty-four thousand millions) which placed within reach of the people the possibility of acquiring property : for the value of this depreciated currency, factitious in all other negotiations, became real for the purchase of domains which, by instinct rather than knowledge, the Convention called *national*. It is owing to this concurrence, which was first aided by the abolition of the rights of primogeniture and afterward by the suppression of hereditary privileges, that this inconceivable multiplication of proprietaries has been effected ; an increase, within forty years, from fifty thousand to four and a half millions.

Thus, the owners of property may now regard its possession as unalienable, and any new revolution as impossible. Indeed, for what purpose should there now be a revolution, since distinct classes, from the grand vassalage to the aristocracy, are all destroyed ? territorial division, fettered in former times by the privileges of these classes, now takes place without

hindrance among the people : the nation is one large and single family, where all are brethren, and every brother has the same rights.

Property, so powerful in itself, no longer needs the factitious support of a government which does not represent it ; but which, drawing everything from its resources and giving nothing in return, must needs be mortal to its interests — mortal, by reason of the annual budgets by which the government draws the blood from the body of the nation and injects it into its own veins. Government in the body-politic is intended to perform the office of the heart in the human body : it should transmit to the arteries the same quantity of blood as it receives from them : let it retain but one drop, and the whole economy is disorganized.

Thus, the present government will fall without any concussion, and by the simple substitution of rational for revolutionary policy. It will fall, not by the efforts of those who have nothing ; but by the voice of those who possess something. It will fall, because it represents and is sustained only by the aristocracy of wealth — which aristocracy is every day weakening itself by partition, and must soon give way beneath the cumbrous and worthless superstructure.

Probably the event will occur in this manner. The copy-holder of two hundred francs will be the first to perceive that the concession to him of electoral privilege is illusory : that the subordinate part yield-

ed to him in the government would not enable him to turn it from its course even if that course should conflict with his interests—since his influence is not direct, but is exercised only through a proxy, whose fortune at the lowest estimate is three-fifths superior to his own. Now, we all know that our equals alone can appreciate our necessities, because they have experienced them : that our peers alone will defend our interests, because theirs and ours are identical ; and, consequently, that we can rely only on our peers and our equals to foresee the one and protect the other.

From the day that the electors shall be convinced of this truth—and the day is not far distant—they will require from their deputies a promise to reduce the rate of eligibility to two hundred francs, and of the electoral privilege to one hundred. The candidates will give this pledge in order to be elected, and redeem it in order to be re-elected ; and the twofold reduction of the rate of electorship and eligibility will be the result of this measure.

The parliamentary revolution will then commence.

After a time, the electors of one hundred francs will perceive that they are no more represented by their eligible candidates of two hundred francs, than the latter were by the copy-holders of five hundred. This discovery will be followed by the same measures ; the same necessities will bring about the same results ; and the rates will thus be lowered by a constantly decreasing progression until every one

who owns nothing will be an elector, and all who own anything will be eligible to the office of a deputy.

Then, the parliamentary revolution will be achieved.

A government in harmony with the wants, the interests and the wishes of all, will next be established. Let it be *styled* a monarchy, a presidency or a republic—it is immaterial: for this government will *be* a magistracy and nothing more. A quinquennial magistracy, probably; for that is the form of government which presents the best chance of tranquillity to a people; since those who are contented with the administration of their delegate, have the hope to re-elect him; and those who are dissatisfied, have the right to supersede him.

But then, also, as the aristocracy of wealth—the present transitory government—will have had its representative; so, the property of the nation at large must in turn be represented: only, the representative of the one cannot be that of the other. For it is necessary that this last should be the exact type of his time, as Louis-Philippe, Louis XV., Francis I., and Hugh Capet were types of theirs. He must be born among the people, so that there may be sympathy between him and the people. His private fortune must not be above the general average of fortunes, so that his interests may be similar to the interests of all. His civil list must be restricted to the strict necessity of his expenses, so that he can

have no control over the means of corruption, by the aid of which, at the election of his successor, he might subsidize a party whose will would not be the will of the nation. This representative, therefore, can be neither a man of the blood-royal, nor a great proprietary.

This is the Charybdis where the present government will be ingulphed. The Pharos that we light up on its route will illumine only its wreck : for even if the pilot were disposed to tack, he no longer has the power to do so ; the current which drags the ship onward is too rapid, and the gale that propels it is too strong. But, at the hour of its destruction, the recollections of a man, overpowering those of a citizen, will cause one voice to exclaim, *Death to royalty—but God save the King !*

That voice will be mine !

THE END.











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